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# Sub-Saharan Africa Report

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4 June 1985

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## INTER-AFRICAN AFFAIRS

## FORTY-TWO PERCENT OF FOOD AID FOR AFRICA NOT YET ARRIVED

AB081817 Dakar PANA in English 1737 GMT 8 May 85

[Text] United Nations, 8 May (POOL-NA/PANA)--Forty-two percent of the food deliveries promised to Africa has not reached its destination, officials of the newly-founded U.N. Agency for Urgent Relief Aid to Africa have said.

The same sources said that out of the seven million tonnes of food needed by the famine-stricken population of Africa, only 6.3 [figure as received] million tonnes have been provided to date. The U.N. experts warn that the sub-Saharan countries need urgent food deliveries before the June rains which will render traffic impossible on many roads. They also warn that many countries have used up sowing seed as food. If the quantities of seed used in this way are not made up for, the food shortage will continue in 1986. Food delivery is particularly aggravated due to jammed port facilities in west African ports and Port Assab on the Red Sea. The former has grave consequences for Chad, Niger, Mali and Burkina Faso, whereas the latter hits Ethiopia in particular.

Twenty-one African countries are suffering from food shortage, according to the data of the U.N. Food and Agricultural Organization (FAO). The list includes Angola, Botswana, Burkina Faso, Burundi, Cape Verde, Chad, Ethiopia, Lesotho, Mali, Mauritania, Morocco, Mozambique, Niger, Rwanda, Senegal, Somalia, Sudan, Tanzania, and Zambia. Kenya and Zimbabwe recently asked to be struck off the list since their "situation regarding food has improved."

The six worst-affected countries, according to the U.N. experts, are Chad, Ethiopia, Mali, Niger, Mozambique and Sudan. At present, food is available to only one-third of the 1.5 million famine-stricken in Chad.

Transportation difficulties in Ethiopia make the situation critical for as many as five million people, whereas Niger's 400 thousand nomads face starvation due to Nigeria's jammed port facilities. In Mali and Mozambique, the situation is also considered critical, whereas in Sudan it is described as "exceptionally grave and deteriorating rapidly."

CSO: 3400/204



4 June 1985

INTER-AFRICAN AFFAIRS

DIPLOMATS GRADUATE FROM COURSE OFFERED IN PORTUGUAL

Lisbon DIARIO DE NOTICIAS in Portuguese 5 Apr 85 p 3

[Text] Minister of Foreign Affairs Jaime Gama presented diplomas yesterday to the nine individuals completing the fourth diplomatic-consular training course in Lisbon.

The nine finalists, four from Cape Verde, three from Guinea, and two from Sao Tome, successfully completed the 6-month course which was offered in the premises of the National Administration Institute, under the direction of Ambassador Calvet de Magalhaes.

On this occasion, Secretary of State for Cooperation Eduardo Ambar said that this was the fourth course offered for diplomatic officials from African nations, and he added the following:

"It is with activities like this one...that Portugal, which speaks not only the same language but in the same idiom, in a single voice, is making its policy of cooperation concrete and clear."

Eduardo Ambar further expressed his respect for the students, who have revealed "great qualities and dedication, and above all, interest, which is the reason for the satisfaction and justified pride of their countries of origin as well as Portugal, which also shares these feelings."

5157

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## ANGOLA

## BRIEFS

HYDROELECTRIC PLANT IN KUIMBA--M'Banza Congo-ANGOP has learned from a reliable source that preparatory work for the construction of a hydroelectric power plant at the falls on the Mbridje River in the Canda Mountains in the city of Kuimba may get underway in earnest as soon as the necessary facilities are made available to the Construction Ministry's provincial delegation. According to our source, this work entails clearing the construction site and repairing the road from the provincial capital to the site. Meanwhile, the adjunct commissar of Zaire, Pedro Dima Roberto, accompanied by technicians from the National Electricity Company, recently visited the site to study the possibility of initiating construction of the dam. According to our source, the power plant, which will supply electricity to Zaire and Uige provinces, will be built with the assistance of Korean technicians, whose arrival in Zaire is expected around the end of June or beginning of July this year under an agreement between the People's Republic of Angola and the Democratic People's Republic of Korea. Technicians from Tecno-Projecto and Geotecnica are expected next May in Uige Province to do core drilling and topographical surveys. [Text] [Luanda JORNAL DE ANGOLA in Portuguese 14 Apr 85 p 3] 8844

SOVIET AMBASSADOR VISITS ANGOP--The USSR ambassador plenipotentiary to Angola, Arnold Kalenin, visited the offices of the Angolan Press Agency (ANGOP) yesterday morning. Mr Kalenin, who was accompanied by the press attache from the embassy and the Luanda TASS correspondent, was received by Sotto Maior, ANGOP general manager. During the visit, strengthening of bilateral cooperative efforts between ANGOP and TASS were discussed. [Text] [Luanda JORNAL DE ANGOLA in Portuguese 16 Apr 85 p 2] 8844

MINISTER OF INDUSTRY VISITS BENGUELA--Benguela-Angolan Ministry of Industry Henriques Santos "Onambwe" arrived here early yesterday morning to launch the first boat built at the Estanavel-Lobito Shipyards. Upon arriving, Mr Henriques Santos said that his visit would enable him to gain some understanding of problems affecting the industrial sector and to unite and encourage Transapro (Transportation and Supply Company) workers, especially the drivers on whom the company depends. The Minister of Industry has already visited the Transapro offices, the regional milling and soft drink company and Empal, all located in Lobito, where he learned

about their operations and difficulties. According to the itinerary given ANGOP, a visit to the Estanavel-Lobito Shipyards is planned for today to attend the launching ceremony of the vessel named Midanupe. In the afternoon, there will be visits to the Commandante Jika Company, the Quinas Garment Company and the Africa Textile Company and meetings with all industrial sector managers and directors. [Text] [Luanda JORNAL DE ANGOLA in Portuguese 16 Apr 85 p 2] 8844

OFFICIALS OPEN ANGOP OFFICE--London, 10 May (ANGOP)--The ANGOP delegation in London was officially opened yesterday by Mr Santana Andre Pitra Petroff, secretary of the MPLA-Labor Party Central Committee for the production sector, acting on behalf of Comrade Roberto de Almeida, secretary of the MPLA-Labor Party for ideology. Mr Paulino Pinto Joao, director of the MPLA-Labor Party Central Committee Department for Information and Propaganda, who is currently in London for an official visit of several days, also attended the opening ceremony. Present at the ceremony were high-ranking officials of the British Ministry of Foreign Affairs, officials from the Ministry of Information, the executive secretary of the British Antiapartheid Movement, representatives of SWAPO and ANC liberation movements, as well as press attaches from the embassies of the front-line states accredited in London and several journalists. We recall that besides the delegation in London, ANGOP has already two other delegations abroad, namely one in Lisbon, Portugal and the other in Rio de Janeiro, Brazil. The other ANGOP delegations will be opened in the future, one in Brazzaville, Congo and the other in Harare, Zimbabwe. [Text] [Luanda ANGOP in French 1600 GMT 10 May 85 MB]

PETROLEUM PRODUCTION--Petroleum production at the offshore Palanca field of Block 3 is expected to increase from the present 2,750 to 30,000 barrels per day in 1986. This sudden increase in oil production in that area is due to take place when a new petroleum exploration platform is installed by the Brazilian oil company, BRASPETRO. The contract is worth \$8 million and was signed with the French enterprise ELF Aquitaine, which has a 49 percent share of the concession. The platform will be built in Brazil and is scheduled to arrive in Angola later this year. Meanwhile, (Bois) Offshore, a French enterprise which assists in the petroleum exploration, expects to sign a contract worth \$20.3 million to build a complete platform to be installed in the (Pacassa) field of Block 3. Companies operating in this area include Sonangol [National Angolan Fuel Company], the American Mobil Oil Corporation, the Italian Petroleum Enterprise, AGIP, and the Ina Nafta Plin and Nafta Gaz enterprises. The platform, which will be linked to the Palanca exploration field through a pipeline, is scheduled to be completed in November 1985 when the field is expected to produce between 35,000 and 40,000 barrels per day. [Text] [Luanda Domestic Service in Portuguese 1200 GMT 14 May 85 MB]

CSO: 3400/229

4 June 1985

BENIN

## BRIEFS

UNIVERSITY DISTURBANCE INSTIGATORS SOUGHT--Cotonou, 8 May (AFP)--The "instigators" of the university disturbances that occurred in Benin on Monday are now on the run and are being hunted for by security forces throughout the country, it was learned from official sources in Cotonou on Tuesday. According to the authorities, they are five youths, including one female (Therese Waounna, Denis Sindete, Issoufou Alassane, Osseni Agbetou, and Aboubakar Baparape) who instigated the students to embark upon a strike on 29 April and which climaxed in acts of vandalism last Monday. [passage omitted] According to certain persistent rumors circulating in Cotonou, one young man was reportedly killed during Monday's disturbances but this has not been officially confirmed. According to the same rumors, clashes had reportedly taken place while display windows of shops were smashed and vehicles damaged. According to witnesses, tension heightened when the students reportedly tried to force secondary school students to join in the strike, by even threatening them with bottles of acid water. This led the security forces to intervene. Following the closure of secondary schools and the university, the situation remained calm in Cotonou on Tuesday. The Beninese authorities have remained very firm in the face of the situation while, at the same time, they have continued consultations to find solutions to the crisis. [passage omitted] [Excerpts] [Paris AFP in French 0733 GMT 8 May 85]

LIBYA DONATES EQUIPMENT, VEHICLES--Nothing beclouds the cooperation between Benin and the Socialist People's Libyan Arab Jamahiriya. The secretary general of the Jamahiriya Bureau in Benin, early last week, has handed over a package of office equipment to the minister of foreign affairs and cooperation. The package included 10 typewriters, 1 photocopier, and 4 vehicles. [passage omitted] [Excerpt] [Cotonou Domestic Service in French 0615 GMT 9 May 85]

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## BOTSWANA

## BRIEFS

CROSS-BORDER COMMUNICATIONS--The deputy permanent secretary in the Ministry of Works and Communications, Mr James Busang, has said that Botswana is proposing the introduction of high frequency, mobile, cross-border radio communications licenses in order that uniform treatment could be given to cross-border transporters. Officially opening the fourth meeting of experts on road traffic and transport at Gaborone Sun today, Mr Busang said transporters have quite often experienced problems in communicating with their home bases when in difficulty outside their countries. He emphasized that the meeting is one of the main endeavors to achieve the objectives set by the heads of state in the Lusaka Declaration of 1 April in 1980. Delegates attending the meeting are from Malawi, Zimbabwe, Lesotho, Tanzania, Botswana, and Angola. [Excerpts]  
[Gaborone Domestic Service in English 1110 GMT 13 May 85 MB]

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GHANA

## SWA POLICE SPECIAL TASK FORCE'S VITAL ROLE AGAINST TERRORISM

Johannesburg ARMED FORCES in English Apr 85 pp 25, 27, 29

[Article by Helmoed-Romer Heitman]

[Text] All too easily overlooked in the shadow of the large forces deployed in the Operational Area and the exploits of the much maligned police counter-insurgency unit Koevoet, the small Special Task Force of the SWA Police plays a vital role in defending that territory against terrorism.

The Swapol Special Task Force was formed in 1977 on the basis of the SAP Special Task Force which had grown out of the SAP anti-riot unit in 1976. Swapol's force is responsible for all anti-terrorist operations to the south of the "Red Line" which designates the southern boundary of the Operational Area. Additionally, it doubles as the anti-riot unit, forms Swapol's only standing reaction force and includes trained bomb disposal men. Given time, it can be supplemented by the Swapol Reaction Force which is made up of selected personnel from all elements of Swapol who are withdrawn from their normal duties and mobilised as the Reaction Force only when needed. The immediate police reaction to an incident of terrorism or rioting, however, will almost always fall to the Special Task Force.

Internally, the Special Task Force is organised on basically the same system as Koevoet but adapted to suit the different operational circumstances. Koevoet does not, for example, have to consider problems of urban operations and high-rise buildings, both of which form a definite part of the Special Task Force's operational environment. With a total strength of only around 100 officers and men, the latter is also on a rather smaller scale. Equipment and weaponry is generally the same as that employed by Koevoet, with the addition of items required for urban operations and riot control.

Fundamentally, the Special Task Force also operates according to the same tactical principles and doctrines as Koevoet, but has naturally modified their application to suit its operational circumstances and the terrain, which is very different from that encountered in most of the Operational Area. The essence of this approach is that counter-insurgency is by nature a police task involving a measure — often a very large measure — of combat, rather than a military task which calls for a heavier than usual emphasis on intelligence work. The emphasis is thus on suitably adapted

police investigation work leading to swift, decisive combat once the insurgents are located and fixed. Like Koevoet, the Special Task Force has shown this concept to be very successful indeed.

Members of the Special Task Force are recruited on a purely voluntary basis from among Swapol policemen with at least two to three years of service in the police. All must undergo the eight week training course, regardless of any previous training or experience — even men who have seen service with Koevoet. This is so principally to ensure that there is no difference in the concept of operations or in actual tactical drills within the unit. Any such differences could be critical in action when there will often, by the very nature of the unit, be little or no time to rehearse or conduct long briefing sessions. Then too, the Special Task Force must also deal with potential urban terrorism, a task in which most other elements have little training and less experience.

The training course is essentially divided into two phases of roughly four weeks each followed by detachment for specialist courses of various types. The two main phases cover:

- a. Urban Operations — including such aspects as building penetration and action within buildings, hostage release, bomb identification and disposal and rope work;*
- b. Rural Operations — including such aspects of rural counter-insurgency operations as patrolling and counter-patrolling, ambush and counter-ambush drills, vehicle operations, advanced field craft and basic tracking as well as weapons training, handling and dealing with mines and booby traps and foreign weapons recognition and handling. This phase sees the trainees cover some 500 km on foot in the course of the training and also includes a one week survival course.*

Once this basic task force training is successfully completed — an 80% mark throughout is required to pass — the new task force members join operational sections and receive their further training as members of their sections. Each section is trained up to full operational standard as an entity by the section leader. Alternatively, a complete section may be formed out of recruits selected by an experienced man who trains them up as a section and remains their section leader. Apart from regular and frequent refresher training, members can later go on various specialised courses such as parachuting, explosive ordnance disposal or diving.

Apart from the limited attempts Swapo has thus far made at urban terrorism, the Special Task Force has been called out every rainy season since 1975 to deal with the infiltration of Swapo's "special forces" elements through eastern Owambo into the farming areas to its south. Where necessary, this small unit has been supplemented by Koevoet fighting groups and Army elements, the latter drawn both from 61 Mech Bn Gp and from the local Area Force Units which equate to the South African Commandos. While the infiltrated insurgent groups have generally been small, they have usually comprised highly

trained and indoctrinated men who are not easily dealt with. The Special Task force has thus faced some difficult situations in tracking down and eliminating these groups in the hilly, often thickly bushed and thinly populated areas to the south of Owambo. Each of the infiltrated groups has, none the less, been broken up, tracked down, and dealt with in quite short order. The unit has thus been a major — possibly the major factor in frustrating Swapo's annual attempt to terrorise the northern commercial farming areas of SWA.

CSO: 3400/173



GHANA

FRG AGRICULTURAL PROJECT EVALUATION TEAM ARRIVES

AB072045 Accra Domestic Service in English 1800 GMT 7 May 85

[Text] A 5-man team from the FRG is in the country to evaluate agricultural projects being jointly sponsored by Ghana and West Germany under the Ghanaian-German Economic Cooperation Agreement. The projects to be evaluated include the Ghana-German Agricultural Development Project in Tamale, the veterinary laboratory of Kpong-Tamale, the agricultural research station at Nyamkpala, and the Department of Agro-Engineering of the University of Science and Technology in Kumasi.

Speaking in Accra where the team called on him, the secretary of agriculture, Dr Adjei-Mafo, said the government is currently laying emphasis on the processing, preservation, and storage of foodstuffs. This is because over the years there has been too much waste of precious food items, especially during harvesting seasons due to lack of preservation and storage facilities. He assured the team that all the projects being funded by West Germany in the country are making significant impact on the country's economy. To this end, he appealed to the German Government to continue to offer its assistance to the projects.

Replying on behalf of the team, the West German ambassador, Mr. Vogel, assured Dr Adjei-Mafo that the team will discharge its duties faithfully and make its recommendation to the East German Ministry for Economic Cooperation. He hoped the secretary will offer the team the needed cooperation to enable it to carry out its work successfully.

The leader of the team, Dr T. (Fred Schonhart) of the West German Institute for Economic Research, hoped during their 1-month stay they will be in a better position to see at first hand which areas need the urgent assistance of the West German Government.

CSO: 3400/187

GUINEA-BISSAU

BRIEFS

NEW PORTUGUESE GRAMMAR--"The New Portuguese Grammar" by Luis Filipe Lindley Cintra and Celso Cunha will be brought out in Bissau next week. In this connection, a delegation headed by the traveling ambassador to the countries with Portuguese as their official language, Jose Fernandes Fafe, and also including Diogo Pires Aurelio and Madalena Pestana, will visit the Guinean capital. Contrary to the previous announcement, Lindley Cintra will not come to Bissau because he is ill. As a result, the exhibit of the new grammar will be headed by Ambassador Fernandes Fafe. Diogo Pires Aurelio will deliver a speech on modern Portuguese literature. Guinea-Bissau is the first stop on the final itinerary established by the Ministry of Foreign Affairs including all of the countries where Portuguese is the official language, designed essentially to assess the most recent contributions to the enrichment of our language. [Text] [Lisbon DIARIO DE NOTICIAS in Portuguese 5 Apr 85 p 3] 5157

MIGS FROM USSR--The first Soviet-manufactured MIGs obtained to equip the Air Force of Guinea-Bissau were delivered to President Joao Bernardo Vieira, commander in chief of the Guinean Armed Forces, yesterday. The MIGs, which were assembled in Bissau, are a part of the support which is being provided by the USSR to the Guinean Armed Forces in accordance with bilateral cooperation agreements. Pilots in the Air Force of Guinea-Bissau have received education and training almost since the beginning of the armed struggle against the Portuguese colonial occupation. [Excerpt] [Lisbon DIARIO DE NOTICIAS in Portuguese 9 Apr 85 p 9] 5157

CSO: 3442/251

MOZAMBIQUE

MACHEL NOTES CLOSURES POSSIBLE TO END WAR

MB120840 Maputo Domestic Service in Portuguese 1700 GMT 11 May 85

[Text] Field Marshal Samora Moises Machel, the chairman of the Frelimo Party and president of the People's Republic of Mozambique took part in the big festival held at the Independence Square in Maputo this afternoon which marked the end of the youth week. Present at the ceremony were senior party and government officials, as well as young workers, students and young men in the armed forces.

The ceremony began with the presentation of gymnastics performed by the young men of the youth club, followed by performances staged by a number of musical groups from Maputo City. Later on, Zacarias Kupela, the secretary general of the Mozambican Youth Organization [OJM] once again reaffirmed the readiness of the youth to engage in the implementation of all the tasks given to them by the party.

Speaking at the ceremony, President Samora Machel said that the Frelimo Party leadership decided to stage the youth week with the principal aim of hailing the fundamental role that the youth has played and is continuing to play in the struggle being waged by our people. President Samora Machel recalled the decisive role played by the youth in the founding of Frelimo and the achievement of national independence. The supreme leader of the Mozambican revolution referred to the nationalizations announced after independence, and pointed out that it was the Mozambican young men who ensured the success of this gain, as well as its defense and consolidation.

Field Marshal Samora Machel also spoke about the present engagement of the youth in the armed forces. He said the youth were present in our air force and navy and manned fighter-bombers and helicopters. It is our young men who handle missiles and other sophisticated weapons. After referring to the participation of the youth in various branches of our defense and security forces, President Samora Machel recalled that they had voluntarily traveled to various parts of the country where they built schools, houses, hospitals, and maternity wards, rehabilitated roads and railroads, and carried out a number of other tasks.

In his speech, the supreme leader of the Mozambican revolution noted the atrocities committed by the armed bandits in our country where they steal, destroy, kill, and burn everything they come across. On the war, Samora Machel also said at the Independence Square today, and we quote, when the fatherland is at war,

we must give priority to war. If it is necessary to close workplaces, schools, and universities in order to rapidly put an end to war, we are going to do it. In a war situation there is no compulsory military service. There is only the call from the fatherland, unquote. Accordingly, Samora Machel pointed out that the government would take appropriate measures.

The president also spoke about the preparations for the OJM Second National Conference, and noted that the themes which are going to be debated by the youth are closely linked to the present situation faced by our country. Near the conclusion of his speech, President Samora Machel said that the OJM youth constitutes a major reservoir for the fatherland and the future.

The big festival marking the end of the youth week continued until evening with our young men singing and dancing to the sounds of the musical groups which performed at Independence Square in Maputo.

CSO: 3400/192

MOZAMBIQUE

BRIEFS

MEETING WITH AFRICAN, IRC, BANK OFFICIALS--In Maputo yesterday, President Samora Machel received a number of foreign officials with whom he discussed issues connected with cooperation at various levels and the international situation, particularly in southern Africa. The Mozambican leader received in separate audiences the special envoy of the president of Comoros, the African representative of the International Red Cross, the vice president of the World Bank for eastern and southern regions, and the secretary of external relations of the African Party for the Independence of Cape Verde. [Text] [Maputo Domestic Service in Portuguese 1030 GMT 16 May 85 MB]

SABOTEURS BURN MAPUTO CUSTOMS OFFICE--A fire broke out this morning at the Maputo customs office, namely in the traffic control department. This sabotage action partially destroyed the building, burning archives containing a number of documents. The saboteurs used gasoline and paraffin with the aim of completely destroying all the existing documents. Despite the losses caused by the fire, the Operation Autostop [to check automobile registration licenses] has not been affected and will continue as usual. The Criminal Investigation Police are continuing with investigations to find those responsible for the fire. According to a customs source, people having to process their automobile documents will soon be informed of the location of the new office. The rapid intervention of the fire brigade, which managed to put out the fire in a short time, has been highly praised. [Text] [Maputo Domestic Service in Portuguese 1700 GMT 16 May 85 MB]

SECURITY FORCES CAPTURE WEAPONS--The Mozambican NOTICIAS newspaper has said a joint operation by the Mozambican Defense and Security Forces in Matola, about 15 km west of Maputo, has resulted in the capture of weapons ammunition, and other military equipment. The report says commodities believed to be circulating in the black market were also seized. In the past few weeks, police and soldiers have carried out house-to-house searches on Matola in an operation which NOTICIAS said was aimed at securing peace, neutralizing the infiltration of RENAMO forces, and ending black marketeering. [Text] [Johannesburg International Service in English 1500 GMT 16 May 85 MB]

REHABILITATION OF INDUSTRY--In an interview given to the experimental television, Antonio Branco, the minister of industry and energy, has revealed that foreign investments were being mobilized to rehabilitate a number of industrial units in the country. The program of rehabilitation, which involves small and big industries, is considered a priority in solving the crisis facing the industrial sector. Antonio Branco gave as an example the field of textiles, where major efforts toward rehabilitation were being carried out with assistance from France, China, and a number of international institutions. The rehabilitation program involves increasing production, modernizing of the system of technology, training, and coordination with other sectors of the national economy. According to the minister of industry and energy, the rehabilitation program also covers units connected with agriculture such as Agro-alfa, and the production of hoes in Beira, as well as the production of water pumps and the recovery of small metal and mechanical units. [Text] [Maputo Domestic Service in Portuguese 1700 GMT 11 May 85 MB]

CSO: 3400/192

NIGERIA

COMMENTARY NOTED ON WORK OF RIVER NIGER BASIN AUTHORITY

AB291750 Lagos International Service in English 0830 GMT 29 Apr 85

[Commentary by Ishola Dada]

[Excerpt] Looking back at the performance of the Niger River Basin authority, one is inclined to have a mixed feeling. This is because although a lot of energy has been put into mapping out a plan for the achievement of the objectives of the authority and large sums of money expended, not much has been achieved. In fact, the authority has been beset by mounting problems. Two of these problems call for a particular mention: They are the problems of drought and famine and of fund. In fact, they are the roots of the nonperformance of the authority. As the current chairman of the authority, Dr Bukar Shuaib, who is also Nigeria's minister of agriculture, water resources, and rural development, lamented at the just concluded ministerial meeting of the basin authority in Lagos that not much has been changed since the last meeting in Niamey. The drought situation has worsened and the food situation did not improve either. The drought in the basin has adversely affected economic activities on the river such as fishing, navigation, hydropower generation and irrigation as a result of very low water levels of the River Niger. Added to this is the harsh financial situation of the authority. Current economic realities have made it difficult for some member states to pay their contributions regularly and this has prompted the secretariat to warn that if the situation was not arrested immediately it could adversely affect the smooth running of the organization. Luckily, the heads of state and government of member nations are meeting in Lagos this week to deliberate on the affairs of the authority.

These and other problems facing the organization will no doubt engage their attention. It is therefore hoped that at the end of their meeting, they will come out with some forms of solutions, particularly on the problem of funds. For, no organization can survive without finance. The River Niger Basin possesses immense potentials that can feed at least half of the African Continent. These potentials must be exploited and harnesses for the benefit of all of us in this subregion.

CSO: 3400/215

NIGERIA

COMMENTARY VIEWS AIR FORCE ROLE IN DEFENSE

AB021645 Lagos International Service in English 0830 GMT 2 May 85

[Station commentary]

[Text] It was the Second War from 1939 to 1945 that showed the unique importance of air power in warfare and the defense of national security. Fortunes in that war changed with the production and modernization of the aircraft (?bombers). So, also in the 1967-68 war in the Middle East, Israeli air power was decisive and in the end made the difference. This is why the leading powers in the world today, apart from reinforcing their nuclear arsenals, spend billions of naira on the researching to the equipping their respective air forces with the most modern and sophisticated weaponry.

In Nigeria, the history of the Air Force dates back to 1962, though it did not come to its own until April 1964 when it was set up by an act of parliament. The foresight of our military planners at that time should be appreciated as our colonial masters at independence had engineered a pact that would have made the Nigerian Air Force an appendage of the Royal Air Force. The Nigerian Air Force had its baptism of fire during the Nigerian civil war. And according to military experts, it performed creditably well, taking into account the limited nature of that war.

Since it is clear that no modern war could be fought and won without an effective air power, it is pertinent at this juncture to ask how prepared is the Nigerian Air Force to defend the nation. Also, how capable is the Nigerian Air Force to give teeth to Nigerian foreign policy, which has Africa as its centerpiece? The statement by the chief of air staff, Air-Vice Marshal Ibrahim Alfa, that the force is in a position to ward off any intimidation, determine and contain any real threat to the country, is very reassuring indeed. The military might of a nation, especially its air power, is increasingly playing a vital role in international politics and, since the maxim that you have to prepare for war in order to prevent war is as true today as it was, the steps being taken by the Federal Government to modernize the Air Force are in the right direction. These include the procurement of new weapon systems to build a balanced force and enhance its capabilities. Also the Air Force training schools are being expanded and well equipped to produce the much needed manpower locally.



In this area of manpower training, it is noteworthy that a thorough review is being undertaken. For a situation in which at present the Air Force trains its men in about four countries, where weapons procurement is done in nearly the same number of countries, leaves much to be desired. [sentence as heard] In an era of declining foreign exchange, diversification of training and weaponry should be reduced to a minimum. Though it is true that different weapons are needed for different roles, centralization will go a long way to reduce our dependence on too many foreign technologies.

Another area of great concern is the use of civilian airports as air force bases. The argument that billions of naira would be needed to build a separate base for the Air Force is reasonable for now as a result of the country's economic predicament; however, a future separation is desirable because of the inherent danger that such duality poses in the event of an outbreak of war.

Finally, the time has come for our neighbours in the west African subregion to consider seriously the suggestion by Air Vice Marshal Ibrahim Alfa for the staging of joint military maneuvers. The usefulness of military pacts and alliances such as NATO and Warsaw cannot be underestimated.

On the whole, it could be said that in its 21 years of existence, the Nigerian Air Force has performed very well and has become A formidable force in the continent that all Nigerians can rely on and be proud of.

CSO: 3400/215

NIGERIA

MAITATSINE LEADER SEEN IN GOMBE PRIOR TO UNREST

AB101859 Lagos NAN in English 1650 GMT 10 May 85

[Text]. Gombe, (Bauchi), May 10 (NAN)--The district head of Gombe, Alhaji Abdulkadir Abubabkar, said yesterday in Gombe that Malam Musa, the leader of the Maitatsine religious uprising in Gombe town, was identified one week before the disturbances erupted on April 26.

Testifying before the judicial commission of inquiry investigating the circumstances which led to the disturbances, the district head said that Malam Musa was invited for questioning by the local government's sole administrator, Alhaji Ahmed Maikudi, on April 22. He said that Malam Musa had confessed on interrogation that he was the leader of a group of more than 30 Koranic scholars and that he hailed from Dengi-Kanam in Plateau but that he resided at Alkaleri in Bauchi state. Alhaji Abdulkadir said that Musa's followers had threatened to set Gombe town on fire if their leader was not released on the very day he was invited for questioning. He said that the sole administrator later ordered the fanatics to move out of Gombe within three days but that they refused to move out until fighting broke out between the group and the police.

Cross-examined by the counsel for the commission, Mr Hakila Heman, the district head said that it was easy to identify the fanatics because most of them were young, clean-shaven and wore the same type of dress. He, however, said that it was difficult to tell what their grievances were since they did not mix freely or discuss their problems with other people.

Alhaji Abdulkadir said that on April 27, a day after the disturbances started, the village and ward heads of Pantami recovered a gun, a carton containing ammunition and some grenades which were abandoned by the fanatics. He said that the recovered items were taken to the emir's palace from where they were later handed over to the police.

CSO: 3400/221

NIGERIA

LAGOS RADIO VIEWS COOPERATION WITH BRAZIL

AB152102 Lagos International Service in English 1630 GMT 15 May 85

[Text] Although Brazil and Nigeria are in different continents across the Atlantic, the two countries have great potentials which can be used to the benefit of their peoples and the international community generally. Their potentials are in economic, cultural, and political fields.

Economically, Nigeria and Brazil have been partners in progress over the years. These close economic relations have been growing particularly in the last 10 years. For instance, Brazil played a significant role in the establishment of the first major car-assembly plant in Nigeria, which produces the Volkswagen brand of vehicles. Trade between the two countries has also been stepped up in the last 12 months. They had been possible because they hold identical views in ways of achieving a new world economic order which would enhance development in the Third World.

And culturally, the two countries have some common discernible characteristics in their modes of life. For example, some traditional religions like Ifa Olokun with their origin in Nigeria have extensive followship in Brazil. Some Brazilians also bear Nigerian names and wear typically Nigerian dresses. On the other hand, some Nigerians do bear names which are undoubtedly of Brazilian origin. These have been traced to the 18th century slave trade during which a large number of Nigerians were shipped to plantations in the Americas.

But it is in the political field that Nigeria and Brazil can do a lot to further encourage (?trade) ties between them. This is so because the promotion of any aspect of life is hinged on the political will of every nation. There is not much divergence in the attitude of the two nations on world problems in general. In 1980, the Nigerian Institute of International Affairs arranged a dialogue between Nigeria and Brazil. The focus was on the principles guiding the foreign policies of the two countries. At the forum, it was made clear that one of the key factors determining Nigeria's foreign policy was the support for and commitment to the liberation of African countries not yet enjoying self-determination.

Another point of emphasis during the dialogue was Nigeria's abiding faith in the fundamental rights of black people all over the world. On the other hand, it was noted that in view of her geographical location, Brazil placed emphasis on security. It was this consideration that led her veto to the South Atlantic Alliance which includes apartheid South Africa. This is an area which requires harmonizing of the policies of Nigeria and Brazil. And the joint Nigeria-Brazil Commission may well provide the forum for it.

NIGERIA

PAPERS COMMENT ON RELIGIOUS FANATICISM

AB301104 Lagos International Service in English 0830 GMT 30 Apr 85

[From the press review]

[Text] The DAILY SKETCH and THE GUARDIAN deliberate on religious fanaticism in some parts of the country. The papers note that the government has not been able to adequately curb religious excesses. However, the SKETCH makes it clear that the government should not allow a band of religious (?crackpots) to threaten the lives of innocent citizens. It advises the security agents to improve on the intelligence gathering of the activities of religious extremists. The SKETCH equally urges the government to endeavor to dislodge the strongholds of the fanatics.

And on its part, THE GUARDIAN says one of the remote causes of the riots could be the fact that members of the various organs charged with the powers of regulating and licensing religious preachers, belong to the more traditional sects. It believes that the attempts to curb unorthodox religions are likely to further antagonize the nonconformist sects thereby driving them underground. It explains that powerful preachers use the purification of religion as the ideological springboard to mobilize frustrated elements. The paper warns that religion is a touchy issue which must be handled with extreme care and faithfulness. It contends that the problem of a sect is not solved by outlawing it. Rather, THE GUARDIAN argues, it is solved through vigorous education and understanding of the weaknesses and drives of the group.

In a closely related editorial, the NEW NIGERIAN examines Major General Tunde Idiagbon's statement on the subversive activities of some foreign evangelists who have tried to introduce fundamentalist and extremist doctrines into the country. The paper expresses fear over this development because these activities are (?relevant) from the two sensitive fronts which are education and religion. To buttress its argument, the NEW NIGERIAN says that no sooner has the chief of staff alerted the nation on religious activities than the monstrous Maitatsine extremist sect erupted, killing many people in Gombe, Bauchi State. The paper thinks the government can effectively handle the problem by opening up more avenues for discourse and dialogue with large and wider segments of society.

NIGERIA

WESTERN MEDIA 'UNPROVOKED ATTACKS' CRITICIZED

ABO52030 Lagos International Service in English 1630 GMT 5 Apr 85

[Stephilus Etta commentary: "The Unprovoked Attack on Nigeria by the Foreign Press"]

[Text] In the past, Nigeria had been the target of sustained press attacks. The Western press, to be specific, has never said anything good on Nigeria. Well-intent Nigerians had suggested reasons for the unprovoked attack of the Western press against Nigeria. It is known that the Western press and their mentors are bewildered by nature's endowments to the country which makes her a potential power in Africa and a force to be reckoned with in world affairs. Besides, the Western press had never disguised their hatred for Nigeria because of her pronouncements on sensitive foreign policy matters. For example, Nigeria's support for speeding liberation of Namibia and South Africa from the racists has incurred the wrath of some Western politicians and their press.

Right now, Nigeria has taken steps to reorganize her economy. This meant a practical application of the principle of economic self-reliance. This again is a measure unpopular to those who would have preferred Nigeria to be a debtor and therefore a beggar nation. This weak position would have made Nigeria the pawn in some political chess game--a situation in which the Western press would have liked to find Nigeria. The present administration in Nigeria has even made it clear that it is better for the people to experience temporary hardship than to continue an economic policy which is beneficial only to foreign firms and their countries.

Now, for want of what else to print to blackmail Nigeria, a London weekly has decided to try its hands on rumormongering--an act of indiscipline which Nigerians now abhor. The paper had published in its recent edition false reports of conflicts among members of the Supreme Military Council. The paper has also deliberately published absolute false information on the current state of affairs at the ruling hierarchy.

As if this is not enough, the Western media has gone all out to taint Nigeria's hard-won respect and leadership on the African Continent without caring for facts. The print and electronic media have accused the Nigerian Government of deliberately delaying relief materials meant for her

drought-affected neighbors--Chad and Niger. One indisputable fact they have forgotten is that Nigeria was the first country to donate a substantial amount of money through the OAU for relief work on the continent. It was also Nigeria that suggested at the OAU summit the setting up of a special fund for drought-affected countries in Africa. This suggestion was applauded and accepted and Nigeria had fulfilled her obligations to the fund.

Another example of Nigeria's magnanimity and good neighborliness was the opening of her borders to allow relief materials into Chad. The Western media did not see all these commendable gestures. The correct situation with regard to the issue of the shipment of relief materials to Nigeria has been explained by the minister of transport and aviation, Rear Admiral Patrick Koshoni. Nigeria, he said received only a request from the United States to allow transshipment of relief materials to Niger Republic. Nigeria acceded to this request and because of her concern and an unalloyed support for sister African nations, the relief carrying ships were diverted to Nigeria's two other modern ports at Calabar and Port Harcourt to prevent congestion at the very busy Lagos ports. Already two loads of transshipment of food aid to Niger Republic had already taken place. This explanation goes to [words indistinct] the propaganda by the Western media that Nigeria was deliberately creating problems by delaying the relief aid; however, the Western press is known for its negative reports of events in Africa.

One can, therefore, understand why the Western press will continue to pour its venom on Nigeria. What is important, however, is that no amount of false propaganda [words indistinct] by armchair critics and agents of doom in the West will deter the people and Government of Nigeria in forging ahead in their common struggle to build a new nation--one that will take its rightful place in the comity of nations.

CSO: 3400/215

NIGERIA

APPEAL ON SEDITIONOUS PUBLICATION CHARGE ALLOWED

ABO51048 Lagos NAN in English 0938 GMT 5 Apr 85

[Text] Lagos, April 4 (NAN)--The Supreme Court today in Lagos gave reasons for allowing the appeal of the African Newspaper Nigeria Ltd., publishers of the NIGERIAN TRIBUNE and SUNDAY TRIBUNE and two of its editors charged with seditious publication in 1981.

In the judgement, read by Mr Justice Anthony Anigololu, the Supreme Court said that the matter of jurisdiction of the federal high court had come under the close examination of the court in a number of cases. The Supreme Court said that under the Nigerian Constitution of 1979, Section 230, the jurisdiction of the federal high court was essentially to try revenue cases. Mr Justice Anigololu said that the constitution had not prescribed a different heading from the one in Section 230, to enable the court assume other jurisdictions.

The Supreme Court held that the federal high court was not competent, by reason of jurisdiction, to try the appellants and that the federal court of appeal erred in law in holding that the federal high court has the jurisdiction to try them. The court also held that the appeal court was wrong in law when it failed to refer a substantial question of law on the interpretation of the constitution to the Supreme Court for decision when it was so requested by counsel for the parties.

Tribune newspapers and their editors, Banji Ogundele and Felix Adenaike, were charged before the federal high court, Ikoyi on Sept. 10, 1981, for publishing a seditious statement in the issue of the paper of July 28, 1981. Chief F.O.K. Ajayi (San), counsel for the appellants, had raised a preliminary objection at the federal high court challenging its jurisdiction to try the appellants but was overruled and his subsequent appeal to the federal court of appeal on the same ground was also dismissed.

Mr Adebayo Oladapo, the deputy federal director of public prosecutions, did not oppose the appeal at the Supreme Court.

CSO: 3400/215

NIGERIA

NAN ON FINANCIAL RESERVES, NAIRA IN CIRCULATION

ABO42035 Lagos NAN in English 1755 GMT 4 April 85

[Text] Lagos, April 4 (NAN)--Nigeria's reserves for 1984 reached a peak 1.143,8 million naira in December, according to the Central Bank's returns of assets and liabilities for last year. The returns, made available to the NEWS AGENCY OF NIGERIA (NAN) yesterday, shows that the country recorded the lowest level of N566 million in February while the reserves stood at N1,030.7 million in June and N1.142.4 million in October.

According to the returns, total liabilities for 1984 stood at an average of N13,708.6 million. The first quarter had an average level of N14,130.7 million, which declined to N13,404.1 million in the second quarter, while the level rose to N13,528 million in the third quarter and to N13,770.9 million in the last quarter.

The report noted that currency in circulation during the year under review was largely affected by the currency exchange carried out in the months of April, May and June. Monthly figures of currency in circulation during the period showed that the level declined from N5,378.7 million in April to N3,152.3 million in May, a 41.40 percent drop, but the level picked up slightly in June with N3,995.3 million in circulation and rose by 17.26 percent or N4,685.1 million in July.

The report showed, however, that Nigeria's total external reserves declined in January this year to N1,005,681,222 from the December 1984 position of N1.14 billion. It showed that as at close of business on Jan. 31, 1985, the reserve was made up of N19,009 million in gold, N63.808 million worth of IMF. gold tranche and N8,674 million worth of special drawing rights. The foreign government securities and balances with foreign banks amounted to N914.18 million.

The country's total assets for the month of January stood at about N14 billion while currency in circulation for the month stood at N5.16 billion as against N5.34 billion in previous month. The December figure of currency in circulation represented a 5.52 percent increase, compared with the November figure of N5,067.5 million.



NIGERIA

EX-PRESIDENT SHAGARI'S ADVISER GETS 21 YEARS

AB251729 Lagos NAN in English 1706 GMT 25 Apr 85

[Text] Lagos, April 25 (NAN)--Prof Godwin Odenigwe, former adviser to ousted President Shehu Shagari, slumped twice in the dock today as he listened to the judgment of a military tribunal which sentenced him to 21 years' imprisonment for abuse of office.

About thirty minutes into the judgment, Prof Odenigwe, who was dressed in a full, flowing yellow agbada, started shivering and perspiring profusely. Ten minutes later, he suddenly slumped and was helped on his feet by security agents. At this juncture, the professor who had been standing in the dock, sat down and asked: "what is happening?" But about five minutes later, he slumped again forcing the tribunal to adjourn.

The former presidential aide was then carried out of the dock by his relatives and security agents and was later attended to by two military doctors. One of the doctors told a correspondent of the NEWS AGENCY OF NIGERIA (NAN) who covered the proceedings, that Prof Odenigwe slumped as a result of dizziness which resulted from a medication which he took without eating.

When the tribunal resumed sitting about ten minutes later, its chairman, Air Vice Marshal Moktar Mohammed, asked him "Professor, how are you feeling now?" He replied: "I am feeling much better sir."

Prof Odenigwe, who was charged with corruptly enriching himself with N804,218 from the sale of 21,164 bags of rice, was cleared of the charge but was found guilty of breaching the code of conduct for public officers.

According to the chairman, Prof Odenigwe "got himself deeply involved in rice distribution." He said that Odenigwe was blameworthy in many ways, because by his action, he denied his people, for whom the rice was meant, of the particular consignment, while the money realised from its sale was not returned to the government. The chairman further said "in the circumstances, we can do nothing but find you guilty of abuse of office." Prof Odenigwe was also ordered to forfeit N804,218, the amount involved in the sale, to the Federal Government.

4 June 1985

## NIGERIA

## BRIEFS

F-28 CRASH, PILOT ERROR--The pilot of the F-28 aircraft which crashed in (Onono) near Enugu on 28 November 1983 has been blamed for the accident. Captain Alex (Ogbemi) was adjudged negligent in his mode of operation of the aircraft, which was on a scheduled flight from Lagos to Enugu. Giving highlights of the government's decision on the findings and recommendations of the (Oluwa) commission of inquiry into the plane crash, the Minister of Transport and Aviation Rear Admiral Patrick Koshoni, said in Lagos today that Captain (Ogbemi)'s negligence is responsible for causing the crash in which 53 out of the 72 persons on board died. The government has consequently dismissed the captain from the service of the Nigeria Airways and banned him from the exercise of the privileges of his commercial pilot's license. The commission's finding that the first officer on the aircraft, (Tabiru Enuwa), failed to monitor his captain is also accepted. He is banned from the exercise of his commercial pilot's license for a period of 6 months. Another official, Dennis (Zapa), who was the head of the cabin crew, is blamed for his nonperformance in the evacuation of passengers and is (?banned) from acting as a person charged with the responsibility of safety of passengers in the cabin of public transport aircraft for 6 months. More reports are coming in. [Text] [Lagos Domestic Service in English 1200 GMT 29 Apr 85]

FARMING LOANS EARMARKED--Enugu, March 28 (NAN)--The Nigerian Agricultural and Cooperative Bank has earmarked N9.5 million for disbursement as loans to retrenched civil servants interested in farming, the chairman, Retired Group Capt. Usman Jibrin said yesterday in Enugu. Addressing a news conference, Group Capt. Jibrin said that [deserving] civil servants would also be considered for the loans which, he said, would be allocated to the states at N500,000 each. He said that the loan scheme was established to ameliorate the hardship of the working masses, and those retrenched, explaining that the only security required to obtain the loan was "a guarantor of adequate standing". Group Capt. Jibrin said that the bank had increased its small holder revolving loan fund from N300,000 to N800,000 per state to enable more farmers to obtain loans. He also said that the bank had introduced "marketing loans" to minimise problems posed to peasant farmers by poor transportation and inadequate marketing facilities and to enable them to purchase sufficient seedlings at the beginning of each planting season. Group Capt. Jibrin said that the difficulties which prospective

beneficiaries of the bank's loans faced in obtaining certificates of occupancy were responsible for the slow processing of their applications.  
[Text] [Lagos NAN in English GMT 28 Mar 85]

GOMBE DEATH TOLL--Bauchi, May 2, (NAN)--Official figures released by the police in Bauchi on Tuesday put the dead toll in the recent Maitatsine religious uprising in Gombe at 43. A statement issued by the police headquarters said that 40 civilians and 3 policemen were killed during the disturbances. It said that only one of the policemen killed was actively involved in the operation, adding that seven policemen were injured while the number of civilians injured was yet to be ascertained. A total of 174 persons arrested in connection with the incident were being screened to identify the fanatics among them. A correspondent of the NEWS AGENCY OF NIGERIA (NAN) in Gombe, reports that people who had taken refuge at the Army barracks during the riot had all gone back to their homes and that those who fled the town were seen returning. Civil servants in the town reported for work on Tuesday and some shops were opened and business transacted. A combined team of the Army and the police were still patrolling the town. [Text] [Lagos NAN in English 1530 GMT 2 May 85]

GHANAIS BESIEGE LAGOS WHARF--With 4 days to the deadline for the illegal immigrants to leave the country, a large number of Ghanaians today besieged the (Ijora) wharf in Lagos in a bid to travel home by sea. The (Ijora) wharf has been handling passenger vessels since last week as part of efforts to facilitate the evacuation of the departing aliens. Four ships have already left the wharf for Ghana since the federal government's order on illegal immigrants. Two other ships are expected to depart the wharf for Ghana in the next 2 days. In an interview with a Radio Nigeria correspondent, a shipping agent at the site explained that operators of the ships were having problems with the aliens because they were becoming too anxious. He added that official protocol in obtaining certificates of loading had also inhibited the quick evacuation of the aliens who besieged the company. There are two other routes, air and land, by which the illegal immigrants could leave. The land borders were reopened last Friday for the purpose. The government has offered to provide vehicles to convey to the appropriate borders those who could not afford to travel by air. All Nigerians have been enjoined to treat departing aliens with every courtesy and avoid taking advantages from the situation to exploit them. [Text] [Lagos Domestic Service in English 1500 GMT 6 May 85 AB]

PAPER CONDEMNS BENIN POLICY--The NATIONAL CONCORD condemns a recent order by President Mathieu Kerekou of Benin Republic to his security forces to shoot student protestors on sight. The paper remarks that by decreeing odious and repressive measures against the students of his country, President Kerekou is joining the ranks of modern dictators and autocrats. The CONCORD explains that whether in the Republic of Benin or any other country, safeguarding the voice and rights of students or any other group is essential. The paper says to deny such rights is to invite anarchy. It therefore calls on the Beninese leader to negotiate with the students. [Text] [Lagos International Service in English 0830 GMT 16 May 85 AB]

TELEPHONE, ROADS LINK NIGER--A project known as the Panaftels [Pan-African Telecommunications Network], which will link Nigeria and Niger Republic by telephone, is to be embarked upon. International road links will also be constructed to facilitate the movement of people and trade. The minister of national planning, Chief Michael Adigun, stated this at the closing of the 16th session of the Nigeria-Niger joint commission in Lagos. He said efforts will be made to establish some joint flour mills in both countries. Four river basins and surface water resources common to the two countries are to be developed. Chief Adigun expressed the hope that all expire agreements will be renewed at the 17th session of the commission. [Text] [Lagos Domestic Service in English 0600 GMT 22 Apr 85]

GOMBE RIOT INVESTIGATION COMMISSION--Members of the judicial commission of inquiry into the Maitatsine religious disturbances in Gombe, Bauchi state, were today sworn in by Governor Sami Sani. He called on members not to spare anyone involved in the disturbances, no matter how highly placed. Brigadier Sani maintained that there was an indication that the uprising had motives other than religious fanaticism. The governor recalled that for about 5 years now, Maitatsine people have been a threat to the lives of the people of this country. The Maitatsine riots broke out in Gombe Saturday last week, and Governor Sami Sani had to take personal supervision of the police operation in dislodging the religious fanatics. The dusk-to-dawn curfew imposed on the area is still in force. [Text] [Lagos Domestic Service in English 1200 GMT 3 May 85 AB]

EXTORTION BY SOLDIERS--Lome (Togo), 6 May (AFP)--While the exodus of 700,000 "immigrants without valid papers" who have been ordered to leave Nigeria continued throughout the day toward Benin, Togo, Ghana, and Niger, some of the aliens denounced numerous cases of extortion perpetrated by Nigerian soldiers who stripped them of all their [words indistinct] before allowing them to leave, it was learned in Lome from various sources. At the Nigerian and Beninese borders, some of the illegal aliens leaving Nigeria affirmed that they were only allowed to carry 2,000 CFA francs (40 French francs) on them while leaving the country, it was learned from reliable sources at the scene. According to reliable sources in Niger, some illegal aliens also complained that their naira (local currency) were taken from them and they were not reimbursed. [passage omitted on previously filed material] [Excerpt] [Paris AFP in French 1857 GMT 6 May 85 AB]

ALLEGATIONS ON SUBVERSIVE ELEMENTS--In its comments, the NATIONAL CONCORD focuses on a recent allegation by Major General Idiagbon that there are subversive elements within the nation's academic and religious establishments. It observes that since the inception of the present administration, there have been similar allegations of plans by some wanted politicians to cause civil strife in the country. However, the paper says, the frequency of the government's repeated alarms have tended to seriously erode whatever may have been the true significance. The CONCORD feels that a good government should learn to live with such differences rather than succumb to the paranoia of imagining incipient subversion in every nook and corner. The paper advises the government to rid itself of the wrong, noting that the universities are training grounds for subversives and pay attention to the nation's real problems. [Text] [Lagos International Service in English 0830 GMT 6 May 85 AB]

JOURNALISTS TRIED FOR 'FALSEHOOD'--Jos, May 10 (NAN)--The editor of the SUNDAY STANDARD, Mr Clement Oluwole, and the paper's crime reporter, Mr Steve Raymond, were yesterday arraigned before a Jos chief magistrate's court for publishing "injurious falsehood." Charged along with the two journalists is Mr Amos Jimwan, the sole administrator of the Plateau Publishing Company (PPC), publishers of the NIGERIAN STANDARD and the SUNDAY STANDARD. The prosecution told the court that the accused persons had on Oct. 21, last year, published a news story titled "Hemp Farmers Rejoice Over Bumper Harvest" which was capable of damaging the reputation of the policy in the state. The accused persons pleaded not guilty to the charge. The prosecution, however, asked for adjournment to enable it to obtain advice on the case from the state Ministry of Justice. The presiding magistrate, Mr A.B. Aya, said that there was no reason for the police to have terminated the case at the high court only to bring it up again in the lower court and ask for adjournment. He said that the police should have gathered all the facts before coming to the court. He granted the accused persons bail on self-recognizance in the sum of 500 naira each and adjourned the case on July 9. Mr Steve Raymond had earlier been discharged and acquitted by a Jos high court on the same offence, but he and Mr Oluwole were arrested by the police immediately after they left the court. [Text] [Lagos NAN in English 1708 GMT 10 May 85 AB]

2 DETAINED IN CONNECTION WITH GOMBE RIOTS--Gombe (Bauchi), May 16 (NAN)--The judicial commission of inquiry into the religious disturbances in Gombe has ordered the immediate detention of two land agents, Mallam Ali Bakoji, and Ibrahim Imam for the dubious role they played in the religious uprising. The chairman of the commission, Mr Justice Alex Okoye, said on Tuesday that it was evident that the land agents connived and sold a piece of land to one Ibrahim Alhassan, who built the uncompleted house used by the fanatics in Pantami Ward during the disturbances. He said that from all indications, the men knew that Alhassan was a suspected Maitatsine disciple before they sold the plot to him. One of the land agents, Mallam Ibrahim Imam, admitted that they sold the plot to Alhassan on April 14, last year for N900. He, however, stated that he was not aware that Alhassan was a disciple of Maitatsine. Mallam Ali Bakoji denied ever introducing the suspected fanatic to Ibrahim Imam. Another witness, Danladi Samaila of Jekadafari quarters, Gombe, told the commission that the fanatics who killed his father wore mobile police anti-riot helmets and were armed with guns and matchets. He said that the fanatics ordered them into a house where dead bodies lay in a pool of blood and dealt several matchet cuts on them, killing his father in the process. [Text] [Lagos NAN in English 1602 GMT 16 May 85 AB]

CSO; 3400/221

SOUTH AFRICA

MARAIS DECLARES SUPPORT OF LE GRANGE, CRITICIZES LEFT

Pretoria DIE AFRIKANER in Afrikaans 3 Apr 85 p 1

[Article: "HNP Supports Le Grange: Attack on the Police"]

[Text] The South African police is the target of a vehement attack by leftists after the most recent series of disturbances in Uitenhage, where several blacks were killed.

Domestically, the PFP [Progressive Federal Party] is at the forefront of this attack, which is aiming, through propaganda, to restrict the effectiveness of the police in maintaining public order.

The insistence last week that the minister of law and order, Mr Louis le Grange, should resign is a continuation of the leftist attack that has been pursued against Mr Le Grange for months.

Both the PFP and the government's coalition partners in the multiracial government, the Labor Party and the National People's Party [NPP], have demanded that Mr Le Grange step down.

In an interesting statement, the leader of the HNP [Reconstituted National Party], Mr Jaap Marais, welcomed the fact that the state president rejected this demand by the leftists.

Mr Marais says that Mr Le Grange occupies a critical position in the present unrest, and that the demands for his resignation by political parties, under the leadership of the PFP, provide undeniable proof of the fact that they are on the side of those causing the disturbances, and against those preserving law and order.

"As minister of law and order, Mr Le Grange represents the police force," Mr Marais says. "The leftist demands for his resignation are actually aimed at the police. They know that if Mr Le Grange were to resign right now, it would reflect adversely on the police. It is a well-known strategy of leftist politics and of those causing unrest to attack the symbols of law and order and to accuse them of being the cause of mishaps during periods of unrest.

"If the minister were to resign," Marais says, "it would be viewed by leftist agitators and those causing unrest as a great victory, and it would cause an increase in the perpetration of violence, because the perpetration of violence is encouraged by successes. The government should not only thoroughly clamp down on the perpetrators of violence, but should actively begin to take action against institutions that are planning and implementing the perpetration of violence and unrest," Mr Marais says.

The demand for Mr Le Grange's resignation by the two non-white parties in the government has plunged the constitution into its first crisis. This has resulted in an emergency caucus meeting of the Labor Party and in a second statement by the party's spokesman on law and order. What is striking about the second statement is that the demand for Mr Le Grange's resignation was not retracted in it.

The leader of the National People's Party, Mr Amichand Rajbansi, later retracted his party's demand for Mr Le Grange's resignation.

Nevertheless, there is little doubt that the majority in the two non-white parties actually support the position of the PFP on the unrest. However, their position as coalition partners requires that they endorse the government's actions. In political circles, consideration is being given to the real possibility that tension between the NP [National Party], the Labor Party and the NPP would mount even further if the disturbances continue, ultimately resulting in a breakup of the government.

12271

CSO: 3401/154

4 June 1985

## SOUTH AFRICA

## BIG DEVELOPMENT IN CISKEI SAYS SEBE

East London DAILY DISPATCH in English 15 Apr 85 p 2

[Text]

EAST LONDON — It was important for Ciskei to be seen by the outside world as an area of attraction to entrepreneurs, President Lennox Sebe said when he officially opened the Basotho tribal offices at Ntabethemba, Hewu, near Whittlesea, at the weekend.

Chief Sebe said the fact that Ciskei could live within its financial means would go a long way towards achieving that goal.

"I have spoken about financial discipline, control measures and the lack of money, but I do not want to leave you with the impression that everything is at a standstill in Ciskei. On the contrary, the application of these measures and the correct placing of priorities in relation to available money has ensured that development on a large scale is indeed taking place," Chief Sebe said.

He said developments at Bisho, the Bulembu airport and the industrial boom at Dimbaza and Fort Jackson were in sharp contrast to the activities beyond Ciskei's borders where li-

quidation and retrenchments were much in evidence.

Chief Sebe said the Basotho, who had come from the Herschel and Glen Grey areas, had demonstrated patience and tolerance under trying conditions of hardship and suffering.

"You came to this area years ago and the fact that the inhabitants of this region still do not enjoy all the basic amenities is a matter of bitter negotiation with the South African Government.

"I trust that following recent developments, the necessary funds will be made available to supply those amenities which are desperately needed by the people, of not only the Basotho tribal authority but by all the people who emigrated from the districts of Herschel and Glen Grey," he said.

Chief Sebe said he intended to investigate ways to increase the jurisdiction of tribal authorities in the future.

"This is your court, administered by your

chief for your benefit. He is the person best equipped to adjudicate on your affairs," he said.

President Sebe said the word security should be on all Ciskeians' lips at all times. He said security related to protecting oneself, property and country. He said one had a duty to look out for any activity which could be construed as being designed to impair the sovereignty of the state, or harm any of its citizens or damage any property.

"Today every citizen of Ciskei is a security officer — not only those who serve in the police force. There are forces at work designed to destroy what is dear to us," Chief Sebe said. — DDR

CSO: 3400/150



SOUTH AFRICA

CISKEI'S SEBE PRAISES VISITORS

East London DAILY DISPATCH in English 17 Apr 85 p 2

[Text]

EAST LONDON — Ciskei's attitude since independence had always been one of friendship towards other states, President Lennox Sebe said last night.

He was speaking at a banquet at his palace where he welcomed visitors from Italy, Switzerland and the United States.

He said some Israeli MPs were visiting Ciskei despite political pressure which had been brought to bear on them in their home country because of their positions as MPs.

President Sebe introduced Dr Stucki from Switzerland. He said he was the President of the Government of Zug, one of the cantons of Switzerland and as such a member of the Swiss Parliament.

Accompanying him was Dr Bollag, Ciskei's representative in Switzerland.

He said Dr Bollag had been appointed as the head of Ciskeian European overseas operations.

He said the group from Italy was headed by Mr Lorenzo Tosi, their trade commissioner in Rome. He was accompanied by

Dr A. Costanzo, a representative of the second largest bank in Italy. With them were Dr M. Codacci-Pisindli and Professor R. Sina, both of Montedison project development division. The fifth member of the group was Dr E. Meneghini of the firm, Icor, that specialised in construction and property development.

President Sebe said that from the United States was Mr Strober who was an eminent writer who had many works to his credit.

He also welcomed Prof Kinsley and Dr Goldin who performed a heart bypass operation on him in Johannesburg recently. — DDC-SAPA

SOUTH AFRICA

PROFESSOR EXPECTS MASS DEFECTIONS FROM NATIONAL PARTY

East London DAILY DISPATCH in English 17 Apr 85 p 2

[Text] PRETORIA — The National Party must brace itself for mass defections to the Conservative Party, the head of the political science department at the University of South Africa, Prof Willem Kleynhans, said yesterday.

That, he claimed, would be the unavoidable consequence of scrapping the Mixed Marriages Act and the sex across the colour line provision of the Immorality Act.

"The repeal of these obnoxious measures will be the last straw for disillusioned Nationalist supporters who have been fence-sitting in their thousands since the introduction of the new constitution."

The laws, he said, were symbolic of the security offered by the National Party against the rooted fear of Nationalists of being swamped by blacks.

The National Party had destroyed itself and would now have to look to a coalition with the PFP and the NRP to survive and hold on to power.

It would have to restructure itself as a reformist, liberal, integrationist party likely to

attract majority support from English-speaking voters.

Prof Kleynhans said that since the formation of the National Party in 1934, congress after congress had demanded a law to bar mixed marriages and within a year of obtaining power in 1948 the law was passed.

"By repealing the measures the National Party will deprive a large mass of its support of a law considered vital for the survival of white authority and control in South Africa."

He said if the National Party had to depend for its survival in government on the support of Afrikaners, it would lose the next general election by a large majority.  
— DDC.

SOUTH AFRICA

SITUATION OF NATION'S WHITE INTELLECTUALS DISCUSSED

Johannesburg FRONTLINE in English May 85 pp 27, 28, 29

[Article by Herbert W. Vilakazi and Absalom L. Vilakazi]

[Text]

**W**E intend in this article to discuss the situation of white intellectuals in South Africa, in connection with the major tasks and urgent problems facing South African society. We shall preface our discussion with some general remarks about the position and role of intellectuals in history, particularly in modern history.

The big question here is: what is the role of intellectuals in the making of history? The answer, in our opinion, is not simple. Intellectuals do not create major, mass historical movements alone, out of nothing. Indeed, major historical changes often take place *in spite* of intellectuals: however, they do influence the direction taken by historical movements when they join the movements body and soul, or, from another angle, when they elect to stay away from a particular movement. There is also a curious paradox about intellectuals: while they are people who are almost totally preoccupied with the search for the truth, about society, history, and life in general, they are also strikingly subject to what is known as 'false consciousness'.

The phrase is from Marxists, who, incidentally, have a very provocative theory of intellectuals and intellectual work. The fundamental point they make is that there is a link between the production or adoption of ideas, on one hand, and the conditions of life or interests of specific social classes, on the other hand. Every social class has its intellectual spokesmen, not all of whom are necessarily offsprings of that particular class; thus the conditions of life and interests of every class in society find intellectual and artistic expression.

However, just as the intellectual spokesmen of a class are not all necessarily offsprings of that class, so not all the ideas circulating and adopted by a particular class necessarily originated within that particular class. An idea, or parts of an idea, which expressed the life conditions and interests of a certain class, in another society or another century, may be adopted by another class, in another society and century altogether. The crucial issue here is whether that particular idea suits the

conditions of life and answers to the problems faced by that particular community of people. An example here would be the adoption and use of the Calvinist doctrine of predestination in South Africa, or the spread of Christianity around the world.

The capacity and opportunities to disseminate and win wide recognition for ideas are not the same for all classes in society; the propertied, privileged classes have an advantage, culminating in the supreme advantage of the ruling class: the ruling ideas of the epoch. Within each ruling class, there is a division of labour. One section of the class, through individual inclination and talents, preoccupies itself with ideas and arts; while another section remains preoccupied with actual production matters, and has little time for ideas and theories; still another section may have its time and energies wholly taken up by public affairs.

This division within the ruling class, which initially is functional, may, later on, turn into a cleavage, and even develop into loud opposition and hostility between the various sections of the class. However, this loud opposition and hostility becomes hushed, when the existence of the entire ruling class initially becomes endangered by an uprising by the oppressed classes below. At the same time, however, as the struggle from below becomes more and more powerful and unstoppable, new cleavages appear within the ruling class. Indeed, when the struggle of the oppressed becomes overwhelming, and nears decisive point, a section of the ruling class, *particularly from its intellectual circles*, detaches itself from the ruling class, and joins the oppressed classes in their struggle for emancipation.

Intellectuals, therefore, and ideas, are not "free-floating", unattached to the conditions of life, interests, and movements of specific social classes in society. Here enters the element of "class consciousness": more often than not, intellectuals *appear to themselves* to be unattached to any of the major social classes of society. This illusion has its roots in the peculiar work conditions of intellectuals. Intellectuals generally work as individuals, shut-in, in their offices, studios, and classrooms, far from the masses of lower classes below them, and also not, with a few exceptions, in daily

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personal contact with the ruling classes above them. There is generally no mass experience in their lives, e.g. working in factories or mines with the masses, etc — with the exception, perhaps, of preachers.

In the absence of mass revolutionary movements outside their circles, the illusion that intellectuals and intellectual work are "free-floating" gets re-enforced and solidified. In such circumstances, the connection between intellectuals and intellectual works, on one hand, and the conditions of life and interests of specific social classes, on the other hand, becomes like that between the kite high in the air, and the boy holding the string on the ground; it is through an effective but thin string, which, to complicate matters, is often invisible to the onlookers. Only a powerful socio-political movement and ideology awakens and binds the consciousness of intellectuals to the interests and movement of particular classes of society; only such a movement and ideology has a tendency to absorb and produce committed intellectuals.

**H**aving said all this, let us look at South African white intellectuals. There are, of course, two major communities within the South African white population, the Afrikaner and the English communities, who owe both their separate existences and unity largely to economic and political conflict. Corresponding to this simultaneous division and unity of the white population are intellectual traditions, the Afrikaner intellectual tradition, and the English Liberal tradition. We shall begin by looking at Afrikaner intellectuals.

Afrikaner intellectuals of the 20th Century have been formed of mighty conflict; the cast of their minds, and their public sentiments, bear the imprints of the struggle waged by Afrikaners against British imperialism and socio-economic and cultural domination by the English, on one hand, and the struggle against the masses of African people, on the other hand. A by-product of this struggle, which later developed into a powerful weapon wielded by the Afrikaners, was the ideology of Afrikaner nationalism. Living in a society which, due to the white-perceived *swart gevaar*, early and readily adopted the principle of universal franchise for whites, Afrikaner nationalism was finally crowned victorious politically in 1948, when the Nationalist Party took over the leadership of the South African state. They then proceeded to use the full powers of the state to champion and protect the interests of

Whites in general (vis-a-vis the Africans) and of Afrikaners in particular (vis-a-vis the English).

This has been decisive in determining the cast of mind and sentiments of Afrikaner intellectuals. Their consciousness was very clearly and powerfully awakened and bound to the interests of Afrikanerdom. Afrikaner intellectual productions were, accordingly, largely informed by a group consciousness and a certain unity of purpose: by and large, they were *engagé*. Afrikaner intellectuals have all along been pledged intellectuals, pledged not only in theory, but also in political practice, to a group existence and to a specific group praxis — although we must admit that the continuing industrialization and modernization of the country is injecting a steadily growing number of Afrikaner intellectuals with doubts about Afrikanerdom. Some, indeed still a tiny minority, have totally rejected it. Be that as it may, the average Afrikaner intellectual is still enveloped within an organisational structure and atmosphere which infuses him or her with a spirit of commitment and partisanship in the struggle against the African. We must stress that the conflict between Afrikaners and the English has receded into the background, as the African population has gained more and more strength and confidence in its struggle against white domination.

Thus, Afrikaner intellectuals, in the main, have been highly politicized by the political movement of Afrikanerdom; they are fully active in "party work" on behalf of their group as Whites and Afrikaners. It is in this light that they enter the Black Universities, for example, as lecturers, professors, and administrators; by and large, they are performing a national duty, as conceived by Afrikaner nationalism. We cannot leave the subject of Afrikaner intellectuals, without noting and applauding the courageous and progressive work of those Afrikaner intellectuals, still a tiny minority, who are struggling against Afrikanerdom among Afrikaners themselves.

Let us now turn to the English-speaking White intellectuals. They, of course, in the main, constitute the liberal tradition in South Africa. They stand in striking contrast to Afrikaner intellectuals. They lack a group consciousness, with group aims, akin to the Afrikaner, on one hand, and the Africans, on the other hand. What feeds their morale is not a living, practical movement of a people, of which they are a part, but solely their ideas, ideals, and principles.

Ideas that do not feed upon a practical movement of a people, or of a class, tend, over time, to sound hollow; and there is always a danger of the very people holding such ideas getting weary of them. A situation of this sort tends to make for weakness, political unpredictability, and an inclination towards posturing and phrasemongering; furthermore, it tends to rob the individuals concerned of a sound sense of realism.

Liberal intellectuals share these risks with all intellectuals, of all colours, who are not part and parcel of living, practical movement of a people or of a class. Working as individuals, and proud of that fact, these intellectuals tend to rob politics of its mass character, by focussing only upon individual leaders of political movements, dissecting the ideas, characters, faults, virtues, and moves of such leaders the way biology students dissect frogs in a laboratory. The real movements of the people below come to naught, and the individual leaders at the top become everything.

A sound sense of political realism begins where the masses of people are, even if they are in a "pigsty" politically speaking — no matter how ignorant or benighted they may be at the moment. It does not begin with a posture of aloofness from these masses of people, or from the movements or organizations in which the masses are, just because one hates the character of the leadership of these organisations or movements. The masses of people do not attain to a correct theoretical and practical understanding of the historical process all at once. The law of uneven and combined development of the historical process applies also in the sphere of political consciousness, just as it does in the sphere of economics. Acquiring theoretical clarity is also a process, which involves stages, some single, others combined. The same stages are not reached by all layers of the population at the same time. Woe unto those individuals who by-pass the masses of working people, in urban and rural areas, and interact politically only with educated people, whether students or professional people, just because the masses of working people are still "politically unclear."

The masses of working people reach theoretical clarity through theoretical discussions, in which intellectuals can play an important role, not standing aloof with

other intellectuals, but amidst these masses of people; through the practical experiences of masses in their daily existence, and through the lessons they learn from their mistakes. Therefore, intellectuals who wish to influence the historical process must find their way to the masses of working people, wherever these people are, *in whatever organizations these masses of people are*, and direct their work towards influencing the ideas and action of these masses.

The dilemma facing White liberal intellectuals is the dilemma of those individuals who have to choose to throw in their lot either with the ruling movement, in this case Afrikanerdom, or with the movement of the Africans for freedom. This is the only way their lives can become purposeful and meaningful in a supra-personal sense. Here there is no middle ground, no possibility of neutrality. In a context of oppression, neutrality amounts to supporting the strong, i.e. the oppressor; and in the case of White liberals, it is very easy to argue this case, since, as Whites, they have the protection of the White state, and they enjoy the benefits that were worked out exclusively for whites, by the White state.

So, in order for their lives to acquire inner meaning and purpose, liberal intellectuals have to shift from centre to either right, joining the movement of Afrikanerdom, or to left, joining the movement of the Africans for emancipation. They have to be part and parcel of the only group aims possible in South Africa, either that of Afrikanerdom, or that of African emancipation; and they have to do this in theory and practice.

Specifically, what does it mean to join the movement of Africans for emancipation?

As intellectuals, white liberals have, first and foremost, to wield the weapons they know best how to handle, i.e. the weapon of ideas; of intellectual clarification; and of persuasion. First and foremost among Whites in general, and among English-speaking whites in particular; they have to persuade their fellow-whites of the correctness of the African cause; and of the need, indeed, the necessity, of as many Whites as possible to support, and, if possible, to join the African cause, in theory and practice. It is, let us stress, the success of such an effort among whites, which will surely save South Africa from a racist holocaust.

There is also need for English-speaking, progressive intellectuals, to get closer to those Afrikaner intellectuals who now have a divided mind over Afrikanerdom. Recently, the leader of NUSAS told us that an increasing number of Afrikaner students, in Afrikaner universities, are becoming more

and more sympathetic to the viewpoint of NUSAS. All progressive tendencies within Afrikaner universities have to be nurtured and encouraged; and close, friendly, *working* links have to be forged between progressive elements in Afrikaner and English universities. An outsider coming into the South African academic community cannot help but be struck by the cold gap that exists between English and Afrikaner universities. English-speaking intellectuals seem to us too self-righteous and haughty in their attitude towards the Afrikaner academic community, and too unwilling to believe that progressive elements can emerge out of Afrikaner universities. If indeed it were so, then surely the Afrikaner community would

be exempt from all the laws of history! *This is not, by the way, even to mention the shameful, condescending distance English-speaking universities keep between themselves and the existing Black universities.*

Does this perspective call for White liberals to abandon right away what they are doing, and rush to join, say, the Committee of Ten, Black Trade Unions, Inkatha, or the African Liberation movement abroad? The answer is "no". We still have to reckon with the rhythm of human nature. Any perspective which defies, underestimates, or overestimates human nature, and other objective circumstances, is doomed to failure. Human nature knows of differences in talents, differences in inclinations, and differences in temperaments, even in circumstances of common objective necessity; hence the importance of the vanguard movement.

**T**his perspective simply places and highlights the first responsibility of White liberals among Whites themselves; to convince ever-increasing sections of the White community of the correctness of the African cause and, with inner and outer conviction, to assist the African cause in its various aspects, according to their individual and/or group talents, inclinations, and temperaments.

In all this, there is no one arena, or one aspect, of the African cause, upon which the total energies of all should be focussed. There are many arenas, and many aspects.

What is important here is the commitment to the African cause; this commitment should be the scarlet thread linking all the various arenas and aspects of the cause into one coherent, historical movement.

It is in this respect that White liberals, as scholars, can play a useful role as lecturers and professors in Black universities — as long as Black students in their masses have no other option but to attend such universities. The shameful contempt that liberal intellectuals have for Black universities, and their abandonment of such universities to people committed to Afrikanerdom, amount to actually throwing in the towel and scurrying to their private havens, in the on-going struggle between Afrikanerdom and the African cause for emancipation.

Supporting the African cause also means that White intellectuals should as much as possible participate in the sharpening, clarification, and debate of the major issues of the African cause; in the whole series of questions relating to the social, economic, cultural, political, and philosophical aspects of the cause; for the cause is theirs, too. It has been said that a nation which oppresses another nation forges its own chains. The emancipation of Africans will also free the vast majority of Whites in South Africa from the chains they are holding, and from the terrible logic of oppression. Indeed, the cause is everybody's; the aim is to create one common South Africa, with equality, justice, and respect for all, irrespective of colour. ●

SOUTH AFRICA

SECURITY AFFAIRS ANALYST ON POLICE CONTROL PROCEDURES

Johannesburg FRONTLINE in English May 85 pp 30, 31, 32

[Article by Helmoed-Romer Heitman]

[Text]

**R**ECENT unrest and rioting has again highlighted the lack of understanding that permeates much of the published and private comment on police action under such circumstances. While it is only natural to be concerned at the deaths that have resulted, it is necessary to look at the circumstances governing police actions. Specifically, it is necessary to consider those aspects in which our local situation differs markedly from that encountered in, for instance, the European countries with which we so like to compare ourselves. Particular factors that come to mind include relative numbers, terrain, climate and the degree of violence displayed by the rioters.

Before considering these factors, it is as well to realise that the South African Police's riot control doctrine, procedures and tactics do not vary much from the generally accepted international norm. Their application is, however, governed by local conditions and circumstances as it will be in any country. Little that has happened in South Africa is in any way unique once it is viewed against the background of the prevailing conditions and circumstances. Even the much maligned switch or sjambok is not unique to South Africa — it sees much use in both India and Pakistan where it is known as a lathi and is deemed a very effective and humane tool for the dispersal of unruly crowds. One should also note that we have not yet had to employ the military for riot control — something that was not uncommon in the United States not all that long ago and which has occurred frequently in Ulster.

Despite being frequently accused of being a police state, South Africa is a seriously under-policed country with not many more

police in the entire country than New York City alone finds necessary to maintain law and order. Thus where in most western countries the police elements seeking to control a riot can usually at least come close to matching the rioters in numbers and can quite often even outnumber them, the SAP is almost always grossly outnumbered. During the 1976 riots in Soweto, for instance, it was apparently not unusual for a 50 man police platoon to come face to face with a mob of up to 3 000 rioters or in some cases even more.

Under such circumstances most non-violent or minimum violence control or dispersal measures become at best unworkable and at worst suicidal. A 50 man platoon can perhaps still link arms and some or push a mob of 200 or 300 with some hope of achieving something, or even make a useful attempt to disperse them by means of a well executed baton charge. When the mob grows into the upper hundreds, any such approach becomes a definite non-starter.

This problem is aggravated by the terrain over which most of this action takes place. Most similar disturbances in Europe take place in heavily built-up areas with relatively narrow streets and tall buildings. The rioters are thus strictly limited in their options for manoeuvre and also cannot easily avoid tear gas (which is also well contained by the flanking buildings, thus enhancing its persistence and effect) water cannon or baton rounds ("rubber bullets"). The police, on the other hand, can use the street layout of the area to manoeuvre the rioters in such a way as to break the mob into smaller and more manageable parcels. These can then be readily dealt with by minimum violence means or may even break up of their own accord once they

reach a minimum size below which their individual members begin to lose the comforting feel of mob anonymity and also again begin to think and act as individuals rather than as mindless components of a mob.

In South Africa, by contrast, most of the rioting has taken place in very open suburbs of generally single-storey houses set in gardens — albeit small — along relatively wide streets and often with open areas nearby. The effects of this terrain are manifold, one of the most critical being that a small police detachment can readily be avoided or outflanked and perhaps surrounded with possibly disastrous results for their safety. As one key aspect in riot control is that the forces employed should look all-powerful and menacing, this situation brings it another major disadvantage — a small group of police stuck in the middle of the mob looks neither.

Similarly, the open nature of the terrain renders tear gas and water cannon relatively ineffective as the former disperses too quickly and the latter — clumsy and short-ranged at the best of times — is too easily avoided. Baton rounds, too, are affected in their usefulness and pushing or baton charging the mob is simply not a practical proposition, quite regardless of the question of numbers. The salutary effect of shotguns and rifles is also diminished as the fall of someone hit by either is not as immediately or dramatically noticeable to others in the mob as it would be in a more crowded environment. Thus where under

other circumstances the shooting of an identified ringleader or a particularly active rioter can have a remarkable "cooling down" effect on a mob that had gone beyond where teargas and similar means could control it, it could go almost unnoticed by the bulk of the rioters in a "typical" South African situation.

Even the relatively narrow confines of an area such as the Crossroads squatter camp do not go far to change this situation. There are still far too many side exits from the "streets" and the shanties are too low to be effective in retaining gas. Another problem lies in the fact that the "geography" of such camps is not sufficiently fixed for the police to be able to rely on it as a means of splitting up a rioting mob. Finally, the lack of high-pressure water mains severely limits the usefulness of water cannon by making the process of refilling their tanks very slow.

Climate plays a very similar part in these problems. South Africa's relatively high temperatures greatly speed up gas dispersal and there are often also breezes to further accelerate this process. Coupled with the open terrain, this results in such quick

dispersal of ordinary gas that it can be almost totally useless at times. A mixture such as that dispensed by the "sneeze machine" is more persistent but does not fully address the problem of open terrain as the "banks" of gas can be avoided. As a corollary, where gas is retained, there is the further problem of wearing respirators in hot weather. The riot control forces are thus restricted in their ability to follow up a gas strike swiftly and decisively.

Water cannon, too, are affected. Contrary to popular belief, these equipments do not rely solely or even primarily on a powerful water jet knocking rioters off their feet. While this is useful at close range — albeit not without its dangers to life and limb — it is more the acute discomfort, in the average European climate, of being very thoroughly and continually wetted by a high pressure jet, that cools the ardour of a mob's front ranks. In winter some police forces use a brine solution to enhance the effect of cold water in conjunction with cold weather. Another option is to add dye, thus marking rioters who often do not wish to be identifiable as such in their home neighbourhoods and are consequently deterred from continuing. This consideration would hardly apply in the African context and our climate tends to negate all the other effects bar the actual knock-down power of the water jet. This in turn is limited in its effectiveness by the nature of the terrain.

A final climate-related consideration is that our relatively high temperatures make it difficult for personnel engaged in riot control duties to employ a full set of protective equipment. Such equipment — helmet and visor, padded and flame-resistant clothing, gloves and boots, steel toe-capped boots, perspex shields, et al — offers a good measure of protection against most thrown projectiles — including bricks, acid-filled light bulbs, razor-blade-studded potatoes and home-made petrol bombs — and against being hit with a stick or similar weapon. This protection allows the police to adopt a more passive and reactive posture towards mob violence aimed at them. It also brings with it, however, problems of rapid tiring, reduced vision and potential heat exhaustion. These factors are naturally aggravated by hot weather and open terrain which requires considerable and often rapid movement.

Without such equipment, personnel employed in riot control are frighteningly vulnerable to serious injury or even death at the hands of the hands of the amorphous and anonymous mob. Also, there can be no question of allowing the mob to close with the police. As a result, stand-off methods



have to be employed which are of necessity generally more violent than contact methods — viz "rubber bullet" versus truncheon or switch.

Then too, the menacing aspect of suitably designed and coloured protective clothing — dark overcoats and helmets, dark perspex shields and visors, etc (what one might call the "Darth Vader effect") is also lost. Police in short-sleeved shirts do not compare.

This brings the argument to a final point. Whereas rioters in Europe are often violent towards police falling in their hands, they rarely kill or even go so far as to inflict potentially fatal injuries. This has hardly been the case in South Africa, where mobs have gone much further than killing the occasional policeman and have killed — often in a most brutal and gruesome fashion — passing civilians who had nothing to do with either the riot or its causes.

This aspect alone seriously restricts the options available to anyone seeking to control or disperse a rioting mob here, quite apart from the other problems discussed in outline above. Close contact measures, for instance, are immediately rendered unusable except where the police have sufficient numbers to guarantee against being outflanked or surrounded or having their formation broken up. Under any other circumstances there would be too great a risk of one or more policemen being seized by the mob and, quite probably, killed. Another option that falls away is that of mounted police charging, entering and breaking up the mob. Where some minor injuries to horses in one case in London brought such public outcry against the rioters that this has not been a problem since, the result in South Africa would almost certainly be several dead horses and riders.

By the same token the readiness of our brand of rioters to commit personal violence upon innocent parties leaves the police no option but to bring such public violence under control as quickly as possible. A letter published in the Cape Times quite recently sought to compare the recent farmers' "tractor parade" in Bloemfontein with other "demonstrations" in our country and expressed a failure to understand the difference in the way in which they are treated. The Cape Argus of that afternoon brought the answer in a report of a woman unfortunate enough to be caught by some of the Crossroads rioters. Dragged from her vehicle she was first threatened with rape and death but then escaped with *only* a beating. Unfortunately all too many of the

other "demonstrations" the writer referred to, develop into rioting characterised by this sort of action.

No riot is in any way acceptable, quite simply because it almost inevitably visits some measure of violence on the persons or property of people who have nothing to do with the riot or the dissatisfaction behind it. A demonstration, legal or otherwise, may be one thing; a riot is something very different indeed. When rioters then go so far as to threaten the lives of innocent parties, the situation becomes one which cannot be tolerated under any circumstances. Even the option of merely confining the rioting mob to an area and allowing it to spend itself, is then no longer one that can be

morally exercised, as it places at even greater risk those many residents of such areas who are not involved in the riot and have no wish to be in any way so involved.

The police are thus faced with a situation in which they must seek to control and end such outbreaks of public violence as quickly and effectively as possible. Unfortunately, various circumstances, some of which have been discussed above, conspire to make "ideal" riot control well-nigh impracticable in South Africa today. Had we three times the police force we *might* see fewer fatal casualties. Under present circumstances there are probably only two ways in which the number of fatal casualties can be reduced: Either the rioters must exercise firmer control over their own activities to prevent gratuitous violence or the police will have to act far more strongly earlier in the proceedings in order to stifle riots so quickly that the overall fatal casualty toll cannot begin to rise to the levels we have experienced in the past.

While all loss of life and injury is to be avoided when and where possible, those who choose to riot and inflict violence on innocent parties will have to accept that their own wellbeing can only be considered after that of their potential victims and the policemen involved in restoring order. They really cannot drag people from their cars and beat or burn them to death, stone passing cars at random and generally fall upon anyone or anything in their path and then expect to be treated like minor delinquents. Those who encourage them and call for South Africa to be made "ungovernable" must bear at least an equal measure of responsibility with their tools for the suffering of their victims and, for that matter, of their tools who, like mobs world wide, so often do not really have much idea of what they are doing or why.

There are those who will argue that the final responsibility actually rests with the "system" that drives these people to riot. This is to overlook the fact that riot and terrorism are both means used by groups who lack the popular support necessary to allow a successful application of passive resistance or guerrilla warfare. Riot and terrorism are also much easier to organise, initiate and keep up — both also provide better headlines and are good for creating martyrs and gaining recruits for a possible future insurgency. That the victims of both are generally drawn from among the very people the perpetrators are supposedly seeking to liberate, is merely a final illustration of the true attitudes hiding behind their public utterances. Riot and terrorism are not the only alternatives to suppressed or supposedly suppressed legal political activity, they are simply a means towards the end of polarising the target society sufficiently to allow an insurgency to be initiated.

This entire argument is not to say that the South African Police cannot improve their riot control doctrine, procedures and tactics. Every police force in the world — and the so-called "third forces" to be found in some countries — can do that and does so on an ongoing basis, as does the SAP. On the other hand, there are basic realities which the SAP cannot escape and which set unhappy parameters to its actions, and these must be borne in mind when we read press reports of public violence in our suburbs and the resultant police action. Anyone with ideas of a workable method of riot control which would allow the job to be done with less violence and no greater danger to innocent civilians, should bring this to the attention of the SAP. They would be genuinely delighted to learn of such a method. So would most other police forces. ●

CSO: 3400/174

4 June 1985

## SOUTH AFRICA

## INSTALLATION OF MARNET ALMOST COMPLETE

Johannesburg ARMED FORCES in English Apr 85 pp 23, 24

[Text] **The installation of the Marnet (Military Area Radio Network) for the Republic and South West Africa is almost complete. The system provides a 24 hour civil defence network that will have a number of applications.**

An emergency radio communications system, designed specifically to provide communications and alarm facilities for both civilians and military commandos in remote or sensitive areas, has been put into action in large parts of the Republic and South West Africa by the South African Defence Force.

The Military Area Radio Network, or MARNET, has the three-fold purpose of facilitating command and control of commandos, or providing an information gathering (intelligence) service, and of being used as a civilian emergency system in the event of a terrorist attack, armed burglary, or any other crisis.

MARNET is part of a national awareness programme to increase preparedness for civil emergencies. Marnet is an extension of the civil defence infrastructure found in major cities and towns for use in rural areas in which there is no municipal involvement.

It is manned by SADF personnel, except in a few cases where it is monitored by SAP. The MARNET system at present covers 75% of the country.

The system has been installed to cater for both Military emergencies Civil Defence action where prompt reporting and effective communication for co-ordination are essential to reduce the potential loss of life and minimise damage. Examples are terrorist threats, major accidents or a bush fire.

The physical size of South Africa invariably puts farmers in remote areas out of reach of neighbours and emergency services. To make matters worse, the normal telephone communication systems are inadequate to meet the potential risks they are exposed to. These and other factors have motivated the State to allocate funds for the MARNET system.

MARNET was designed and developed by Barcom Electronics, under contract to Armscor. The system superficially looks like any other commercial/professional 2-way radio system until one looks at the detail of facilities, and the design specifications aimed at achieving extended survival in a rugged environment.

The equipment consists of a console for the operator, UHF radios to link the Army console to the mountain top site and VHF area coverage radios for the farmers to communicate with. It is not unusual for the farmer to be 150 km away from the soldiers he may be speaking to.

All the area coverage stations are on carefully selected high sites around the country, few of which have either a building or electricity.

None of the high sites are manned, requiring the installation to be self sustaining. They are sufficiently intelligent and secure to be capable of reporting automatically any fault or intrusion.

The equipment is housed in climatic containers to prevent it being exposed to weather-extremes. At some of the sites temperatures can be as high as 48°C and as low as minus 20°C. The containers together with the radios, batteries and alarm panels are designed as self supporting systems. If there is a failure, the complete container can be removed and replaced almost instantly. Many of the high sites have solar panels to generate the power to drive the equipment and, of course, batteries take over the load in the absence of the sun.

The specifications for the radio communicating with the system were drawn up by the SADF in conjunction with the South African Telecommunication and Electrical Power Supply Authority (SATEPSA). They call for a radio which is SABS/SAPO approved, prevents the system from being jammed and ensures product quality to provide trouble free use by the public.

The specification identifies a number of compulsory requirements over and above the basic set, and, must have facilities such as two receivers — one for MARNET and the other for the civil defence channels with provision for a private channel. The radio developed by Barcom, a subsidiary of Reutech, is equipped with these requirements and is in fact the only approved full feature radio available at this stage. The Barcom Z66 transceiver was one of the entries submitted for the 1984 Shell Design competition to win an award.

As the system is installed and maintained by the SADF they are an integral part of the approval and licencing process for farmers to join the system. The procedure is for prospective participants to apply with the standard SAPO licence application form to the local Commando Officer. Once authorised he will pass on the application to the Post Office Radio division for a normal transceiver operators licence. At this point the Army will have allocated a unique electronic code to the application which will be fitted into the radio when the supplier installs it. The code gives clear identification of the caller on the console whenever he makes a call into the system. It consists of a five digit number which is compared to a master list to identify the caller and his address plus any other relevant information. This is a very important feature as the system is designed for communication without speech. It enables a person to call for assistance by merely pressing an emergency button either on the radio or remotely.

The Barcom MARNET radio (Z66) is designed with a red emergency button on the radio and has the facility of wired push buttons which can be placed strategically throughout

the premises to transmit an alarm. The radio has a priority override and can be accessed irrespective of what channel the radio may be switched to. This has been made possible by virtue of a microprocessor controlling complex functions of the radio.

The unique coding system is also an important feature when the SADF may wish to contact the individual farmer. The procedure is as follows: The soldier types onto his console the five digit number of the radio to be called. This causes an electronic signal to be transmitted and is superimposed on the radio frequency which only the one radio called will decode and respond to. The Barcom Z66 decodes the address and will give an audible alarm to indicate that a call has been received. This ensures all calls are recorded and eliminates the need for someone to constantly monitor the signals to identify the one that is meant to be responded to by a particular station.

In addition to the MARNET channel, the Z66 has the facility for a business communications channel which the farmer can use for the normal running of his business. It means that the equipment is working to justify its cost and not merely sitting idle waiting for an emergency. This facility does, however, create the risk that the emergency MARNET message may not be received if there is communication on the business channel; the Z66 microprocessor control and the addition of a second receiver in the radio, tuned exclusively to the MARNET frequency eliminates this risk. All MARNET calls, no matter for which purpose the radio is being used at the time, will be received.

The Z66 is designed as a mobile radio to fit into a vehicle or base station rack.

Barcom offers all the accessories needed to effectively operate the radios and include standby batteries, charger, extension speakers, remote siren, emergency buttons, antennae etc. The radio being purpose designed and manufactured in South Africa has a full service back-up from Barcom through its dealers.

## **Specifications:**

### **General**

Operation:	66 MHz to 70 MHz, Simplex Narrow Band Frequency Modulated Deviation — minimum $\pm 3$ kHz; maximum — $\pm 5$ kHz
Channels:	One Marnet channel in 66 MHz to 68 MHz band Eight Civil Defence channels of 25 kHz minimum spacing in 67 MHz band One Private channel in 68 MHz to 70 MHz band

Power Requirement: 12V (nominal) DC supply  
Operating  
Temperature Range: -15° to +55° Centigrade

**Receiver:**

Sensitivity: 0.4uV for greater than 12dB SINAD 1  
kHz tone at rated output

Adjacent Channel

Rejection: Better than 65dB

Audio Output: 3W into front panel 4 ohm  
loudspeaker

Harmonic Distortion: Less than 10%

Squelch: Set to break at 0,35uV maximum

Current Consumption: Less than 300mA in Receive/Standby  
mode

**Transmitter**

RF Power Output: 25 watts (min. 20 watts: max 30 watts)

Frequency Stability: Better than 1,5 kHz on all channels

Modulation Stability: Microphone input 8mV (with speech  
compression) into 300 ohms. 1dB  
change in modulation for 10dB  
change in microphone input

Encoder

Start Time: 600mS

Code Duration: 70mS  $\pm$  15mS

Code Frequency

Error: Less than 1%

Transmitter Current: Less than 6A at 30 watts output  
power

Sidetone: Incorporated

CS0: 3400/173

SOUTH AFRICA

PROFESSOR DISCUSSES OBSTACLES TO CHANGE

Johannesburg THE STAR in English 19 Apr 85 p 11

[Article by Gavin Engelbrecht]

[Text] The obstacles to meaningful change in South Africa lie in the apartheid system itself, says Professor A Stadler, head of political studies at Wits University.

He told a panel discussion last night the Government was capable only of developing elaborations and variations on it.

"For 30 years," he said, "white South Africa has lurched from one crisis to another in the belief that increasing repression, combined with co-optation of, and concessions to, specific groups could avert more far-reaching changes."

Professor Stadler told the discussion, entitled "A Decade of Change?" that conflicting forces had polarised sharply over the last 10 years while the State had increased its repressive powers.

And major riots every year along with escalating strikes and boycotts

had generated a new momentum with one form of resistance leading to another.

President Botha's reform programme was essentially a defensive strategy against the push for change from below

and thus an impediment to significant reforms, said Professor Stadler.

One intention of reforms initiated by President Botha in the 1970s was to replace racial criteria with market principles in determining access to the capitalist social order.

But there were limits to the extent to which such principles could transform the political and social structures of society.

Professor Stadler said the policy of controlled urbanisation was intended to modify rather than to eliminate the system.

CSO: 3400/151

SOUTH AFRICA

INTERVIEW WITH UDF'S LEKOTA

MB010928 Maputo in English to Southern Africa 1800 GMT 29 Apr 85

[Second part of interview with United Democratic Front [UDF] Publicity Secretary Patrick Lekota in South Africa by AIM correspondent Leite de Vasconcelos on "Spotlight Southern Africa" program presented by Iain Christie--date not given]

[Text] The South African Government recently had talks with Gatsha Buthelezi and other Bantustan chiefs, and in another contact with black South Africans, State President P. W. Botha addressed the Easter meeting of the Zionist Christian Church, the ZCC. Leite Vasconcelos asked Mr Lekota about the significance of these moves.

[Begin recording] [Lekota] Let me start with P. W. Botha's meeting with the homeland leaders and some of these Bantu councillors or black town councillors. I think in brief one would only say that the polls in the past elections, have clearly shown that the masses have no confidence in these people. P. W. Botha, in terms of insisting on focusing his attention on those discredited organs, is trying to flog a dead horse into life. There is no way in which he is going to give them credibility purely by talking to them. He can talk to them as much as he likes but they have no--in the eyes of the people--they have no credibility. They have been even rejected by the people, there is no question about that. So, at that level, we are not even worried about that. I mean, he can go on with that thing day and night. It won't concern us. It won't change the situation.

Of more interest is his visit to Zion Moria City, to the ZCC church, over the weekend. Again, at that level, you know, there has been a lot of noise made in the South African newspapers about how he had scored a victory and so on. But, we must also say, you know, that it is unfortunate, but there is no victory that was scored there. Of the people who went to Moria over the weekend, I am sure that the first consideration in their minds in terms of going up to Moria (?was for) their commitment to their own church. It is true that there are those who will have gone there out of curiosity to hear what P. W. Botha was going to say, out of sheer, simple curiosity.

As I said earlier, with all the good words he had to say there, he said out of [words indistinct] even those who for a moment may have been driven up by



his oratories, [words indistinct]. By now, I am sure, they experience it (?all) under apartheid, you know. They are suffering in the townships the lack of housing, high rents, low wages. The reality of apartheid, the humiliation which they suffer on a daily basis [words indistinct]. I do not think his message (?has any lasting effect) unless the government (?plans) definitely to correct [words indistinct] and therefore, unless it is something that would change the quality of life of those people, (?to speak) to these, unless it is, his words will never have any lasting effect. (?It would just) [words indistinct] an attempt, and that's about all it is.

We, on the other hand, propose that even among the people who were there, a lot, a lot of others, who are in fact members of the UDF, some of the affiliates of UDF, some of the affiliated trade unions of the UDF, were there. They possibly have kept quiet and not done anything as he was speaking because they respect their bishop and they respect their church. There are many others who support the UDF who were not there, obviously, you know, I mean, who are not part of that church. But we must also see the UDF enjoys a large number and commands the support which is not [words indistinct], which is never (?confided) in public because to support the UDF, and to declare to be supporting it, carries a certain amount of risk. The people [words indistinct] not because they don't support the front, but because they are afraid of the consequences (?and they fear) to support the UDF.

We are not seriously concerned or worried about this visit to Moria. We are convinced that the majority of the people of this country especially black people, support the [words indistinct].

[Announcer] There are differences between the UDF and the antiapartheid organization (?known) as the Azanian People's Organization [AZAPO]. Terror Lekota talks about the positions of the two organizations and the prospect for a joint action.

[Lekota] Our attitude in the UDF is that insofar as AZAPO and other organizations of the national forum are committed to the struggle against the new dispensation initially and, of course, committed to the struggle against apartheid as such, they constitute part of the people. They constitute part of the broad struggle of the people of South Africa against the nationalist government and its policies. So, as far as we are concerned, we are joint (?convenors) against apartheid.

The level of difference between us and them is merely of tactics. It is a tactical difference and therefore it is not something that cannot be surmounted. We have made a clear commitment to continue to persuade those organizations which are outside of our front, to persuade them to understand that we sympathize with their views on the question of the differences of tactics, but that we must not allow tactical differences to divide the forces of progress in our struggle. So, once more congress renewed its commitment, I mean, our conference renewed its commitment to seek a hand of friendship with those organizations, to pull them together. Perhaps, maybe, on certain basics they need not necessarily affiliate, but on specific issues, we should go into the campaign together. Take for instance [words indistinct] other organizations

which are not affiliated to the front, like the South African Council of Sports, like the South African Rugby Union, that is. What we are saying to them is that we recognize them as the progressive sporting bodies in our country. That even though they are not affiliated to the front, we should like to make some measure of cooperation possible. I don't really think [words indistinct]. We hope that in the course of time, in terms of operating together on the short term basis, that we can develop better understanding of each other and perhaps some of the problems which to day appear to be impassable will be resolved and that therefore greater unity will be built.

So, we are not critical of these organizations, some of them are critical of our aspirations, of our policy, [words indistinct] critical of the UDF because they feel that by including white people or white organizations within the fold of the Front that will water down the militancy of the masses. This is not our view. Our conception is that our organizations which are fighting for the new order--nonracial--they themselves must be nonracial because they are the very (?base), the very process of organizing that new order. These organizations must be nonracial. We will, therefore, continue to reach out, to discuss with them, especially that they should join in the common efforts from time to time. [Words indistinct] who are fighting against apartheid, they are part of us.

[Announcer] Terror Lekota goes on to talk about the role of the white liberal opposition party of South Africa, the Progressive Federal Party, the PFP.

[Lekota] The PFP [word indistinct] Movement, not as the subsidiary of electoral leadership. It's participating in the tricameral parliament and that immediately removes the basis of cooperation between (?them) and UDF. Our commitment on the daily basis is to oppose the tricameral parliament. They are operating there. So, I mean, the very fact that they are participating there undercuts (?PFP) in other discussions between [word indistinct]. We recognize whatever contribution they are making as a very, very limited contribution as far as we are concerned. In fact, by having initially criticized the new dispensation and so on, we still cannot understand how they could now once more have gone back with the same, you know, constitution, constitutional process which they themselves have analyzed as [word indistinct], as unacceptable, as (?perpetuating) apartheid. We, therefore, [words indistinct] a (?possibility) of us linking up with them. We are aware that they are being increasingly critical of the UDF [words indistinct]. UDF (?has) a clear program. They seem to fail to appreciate the fact that the UDF is a front, and not political party like their political party.

CSO: 3400/171

SOUTH AFRICA

FINAL PART OF INTERVIEW WITH UDF'S LEKOTA

MB080747 Maputo in English to Southern Africa 1800 GMT 6 May 85

[Third and final part of interview with United Democratic Front [UDF] Publicity Secretary Patrick Lekota in South Africa by AIM correspondent Leite de Vasconcelos on "Spotlight Southern Africa" program presented by Iain Christie--date not given]

[Text] The day after we broadcast the first part of the interview, 3 weeks ago, Mr Lekota was arrested in South Africa. There was no apparent connection between the broadcast and the arrest. In today's final part, Vasconcelos begins by asking Mr Lekota about the UDF's relations with South African trade unions. Patrick "Terror" Lekota replies: The foundation and (?teachings), from apartheid to a new order. The ball is on the court of the government and the PFP allow themselves [words indistinct] respond to the demands that (?they) have made and what role they will play in terms of assisting the process.

[Begin recording] [Lekota] We have always made clear right from the beginning of our commitment to the struggle of the people of Africa is also a commitment to the struggle of the working people of our country. So the issue of the relations between the UDF and the trade union movement is one of the key (?issues) that have given us sleepless nights and will continue to occupy our attention for a long time to come. Certainly, we are sympathetic to the efforts of the trade unions, for instance, (?to build) [words indistinct] mutual benefit to us in our country. We certainly stand fully behind that. We see the struggles of the UDF have been [words indistinct] at the same time the very [word indistinct] is central to the struggles of the working class, I mean, fighting high rents, fighting forced removals, fighting against removal, fighting (?demands) [word indistinct] and so on. It is all part and parcel of the struggle of the working class, and there is no way therefore in which we can ignore the question of the trade union movement. We believe, in fact, that increasingly as the struggle goes on we will be able, first of all that we are committed [as heard] to winning friendship (?as home) and we believe that for even more effective political action the UDF must win the support of the trade union movement. We will therefore continue to go out of our way one more time both to achieve [words indistinct] to draw closer towards those other unions which are not affiliated with the front, and to do everything in our power to support the campaigns of the working class, the trade unions of this country, for instance boycotts, of, you know, companies which will expell workers, arbitrarily,

you know, fire workers or take any particular measures against the working class. We are committed to that. We will participate, we will support.

[Vasconcelos] In the first months of this year the governmental repression has been growing up as shown by the events in Crossroads and Langa, and the trial treasons [as heard] and the banning of meetings and other measures. What will be the consequences of this factor? Would it tend to decrease the mass movement or on the contrary to make it stronger?

[Lekota] The repression of the government is calculated to undermine the resistance of the people, to undermine the (?dampening) of spirit. I think on the other hand if events in the eastern Cape, especially after Langa, in Uitenhage, are anything to go by, clearly repression seems to provoke more and more calculated forms of resistance. Certainly, it does not destroy the resistance. What it does call for is increased amount of coercion. We will therefore see more organizations [word indistinct] the arbitrary repression which [words indistinct] of the state employ must inspire a formal attitude on the part of the people and more determined efforts to rid our society of apartheid. [Words indistinct] that is what government wants. I think, in fact, in the short term [words indistinct] it will not destroy the movement, certainly not. I think in the long term we will find that there is going to be a resurgence of the movement, in that [words indistinct] it will grow stronger and stronger until finally it will not be in a position [words indistinct] by the government. So, I think, you know, the government's belief that it can use force to undermine the determination of the people who struggle for freedom is a miscalculation on their part. I think it will have a counter-effect. And in fact, [words indistinct] we don't want to see happening, and that [words indistinct] will be only to harden and stimulate our people in the struggle. More and more people will come forward, prepared to make, you know, even bigger sacrifices than those who've gone before them. We remain [words indistinct]. We have confidence in the capacity of our people to rise up to [the] occasion. They will not be full of (?ideals). We will not act with blind anger. We will think issues out. We will come out systematic but with a lot of determination and much strength and will.

[Vasconcelos] How do you see the role of the United States in South Africa? Do you think its role is determinant for the policy of the government?

[Lekota] I think that there can be no doubt about the fact...[change of thought] I think largely also because of its support of the Botha regime. The American Government has got more credibility with the nationalists. To that extent, clearly it has, because of its (?influence) in the government levels, it does play an important role in terms of influencing issues. I recall that ever since Mozambique signed the Nkomati Accord with South Africa, the U.S. Government actually, you know, played [words indistinct] a major role in terms of that accord. May be not so much on the part of the Mozambican Government, but clearly, you know, they would have played a major role in terms of influencing the Afrikaners to move toward [word indistinct] the Nkomati pact. This clearly shows that the Americans have got a fair amount of influence here. If one looks, for instance, even in the case of South-West Africa in the Angolan matter. Clearly, Chester Crocker, you know, was constant-

ly coming up, discussing issues with the Afrikaner [word indistinct]. It does show that the Americans have got a lot of influence here. You know, in part of the stubbornness of the Afrikaners at the moment starts from the fact that the Americans are supporting their current policies. The Americans refused for instance, [word indistinct] the new constitution was placed before the General Assembly last year. They refused to vote against it, you know, together with the British and that of course made the Afrikaners feel, you know, that they could defy the world, (?indeed) with support of the biggest imperialist power, [words indistinct] everything that we have. You know, I mean the Americans are a superpower, and if they support what we are doing, then things are going to go the way they must go. So, I mean, clearly, and even if you take, for instance, you know, some of the observations of the Conservative Party, which has constantly, you know, accused nationalists of being under American influence. It is clear that the influence of the United States in the South African issue is, you know, immense to say the least.

[Vasconcelos] Did the national congress of the UDF issue also orientations about actions to be taken in the external field? If so, which are the (?operations) in that field?

[Lekota] I think the problem with the international field is that it is not an immediate issue, I think in terms of (?balances). Our assessment is that organizations [words indistinct] the UDF activities, organizations [word indistinct] to the central issues that preoccupy the front. You are likely to say this that perhaps 90 percent of our work must come into the country or perhaps 80 percent, or perhaps 95 percent, depending on the [words indistinct]. But let me say 80 percent of our effort must be concentrated towards organization of the country, and that maybe only about 20, 15 or 10 percent of our work is (toward) organizing internationally for support. Clearly because the outcome of the struggle will not be determined by internal factors as well as external, you know, influence. We will therefore, I mean, continue to go out of our way to winning friends, governments, progressive governments and countries, churches and so on, to win them to the side of the struggle against apartheid. In doing so we will be seeking to isolate the South African Government. We will be seeking to tell the [words indistinct] that is taking place in our country so that mankind may give their contribution to the right place in the right fashion. We have no specific programs as such at this time. I think we will be revising our decisions from time to time. Some of the events will be of course our initiatives. Some will be events which we will be forced to respond to by those who initiated like, for instance, [passage indistinct] contribution to respond to it. I think also we will need our concentration in terms of supplying information abroad about the situation here to educate the international opinion about the issues that confront this country. [End recording]

Patrick Terror Lekota concluded this interview with a message for the Mozambican people:

[Begin recording] [Lekota] I think the message which we may send across not only to the people of Mozambique, but also frontline states because of the special relationship between Mozambique and South Africa. We, the people of

South Africa, would like to say to the people of Mozambique, we were inspired by their performance in the period when they fought for their own independence. We are inspired by the efforts which they are making in their own country to defend at all costs the successes that they scored in their struggle for the freedom of their struggle. We hope that the marauding MNR that is threatening the independence of the people will be contained, and that, therefore, the people of Mozambique may be left in peace both by the government of South Africa which we must say to them: It does not represent parties of the South African people. The type of things, the type of policies which it is adopting, which threaten the independence of Mozambique, the invasion of Mozambique, as for instance in 1981, those things have no support by us, the masses of the people in this country, and we want to say to the people of Mozambique: Defend your freedom. We, on our part, we will do all in our power to make sure that you are successful in that mission. We also want to say that while you build your freedom in Mozambique, we hope that tomorrow we will get our own independence. You will have gone far enough to be able to help us, to be able to pass on to us your experiences of reconstructing a country, of building genuine freedom for the peasants and for the workers, for the intellectuals, for progressive, you know, people in this country, that we may be able to have [word indistinct] them. We are saying that the commitment of the people of our country is for a future in [words indistinct] between our respective countries. And that we jointly may make a contribution to world peace [words indistinct] nations of the world, upholding the supremacy of the human being, no matter what the color of their skin. [End recording]

CSO: 3400/171

SOUTH AFRICA

RADIO COMMENTS ON 'REALITY' OF BLACK URBANIZATION

MB150720 Johannesburg Domestic Service in English 0500 GMT 15 May 85

[Commentary: "The South African Reality"]

[Text] It is an unfortunate fact of politics in South Africa that it contains an element of escapism and wishful thinking that seriously hinders constructive debate. The country cannot afford it. There has never been a greater need for rational thinking in examining political agenda for approaches that base solutions on the realities of the national situation.

One such reality, unalterable in the South Africa of today and the future, is that the urban black communities that are settled in the republic are permanent inhabitants of this country, and accepting that reality has important implications in social, economic, and political planning--implications that must be intelligently assessed and dealt with in policy to ensure that the security and vital interests of every group will continue to be safeguarded.

There was a time when it was expected that the black national states would develop sufficiently to accommodate virtually all the original members of their nations. That expectation was false. It was not realized that a task of such magnitude would require resources many times greater than South Africa could afford, even had its people been prepared to make inordinate sacrifices.

What was more, in the republic itself the need for labor in order to maintain economic development forced the recruitment and training of more workers in the metropolitan areas. As late as 1975, a government research body, BENSO, found the national states were still not in a position to provide employment for more than 14 percent of all new black work seekers. Black urbanization in the republic was a fact.

For policy makers to ignore it is tantamount to refusing to face up to the implications of a major sociopolitical reality. Worse still, it is an evasion of their responsibility to plan for the most important demographic event of the next couple of decades--the growth of the urban black communities from the present one-third of the total population to three-quarters by the year 2000.

There is yet another dimension to this matter that has to be taken into account in formulating relevant policies for the South Africa of today and tomorrow.

That is, that the economic demands which will be made on this country in the years to come will be unprecedented. In another 30 years or so, its population will increase by 50 percent.

Feeding, housing, clothing, and providing even the most elementary services for the people will require the creation of some 1,000 jobs a day in this period, necessitating an annual economic growth rate of 5 or 6 percent. That, in turn, creates an urgent necessity for expanding opportunities for education and training, itself the most potent single factor in the drive to reduce the population growth rate.

It is clearly imperative that the educational program that has seen the number of black matriculants increase nearly eight-fold in the past 7 years should be maintained and even accelerated.

Such are the fixed realities of the South African situation. They present an extraordinarily complex challenge to political planners, but the challenge must be taken up. To evade it--to propagate policies that simply ignore such realities--is both futile and, in the country's present circumstances, dangerously misleading.

CSO: 3400/228



SOUTH AFRICA

DESTRUCTION OF LOCAL AUTHORITIES WILL NOT BE ALLOWED

Johannesburg THE CITIZEN in English 4 May 85 p 4

[Text] **HOUSE OF ASSEMBLY.** — Black local authorities were the basis of democracy and the Government would not allow them to be destroyed, Dr Gerrit Viljoen, Minister of Co-operation and Development, said replying to debate on his vote of the Budget.

The enemies of the country were intent on destroying the Black local authorities because they knew they were the basis on which political rights were to be extended to Blacks.

These elements had to be eliminated. The Black local authorities also served as a schooling process for the functioning of government.

**Control**

Dr Viljoen said the Government was planning to phase the sorghum beer industry from out of the control of the administration boards over the next three years.

The liquor industry had no place in local authorities and would be phased out as more funds became available from the regional service levies to compensate for the loss of revenue from beer sales.

The payment of service charges and tariffs in the

Black urban areas were essential for the communities which lived in these areas. The services in the urban areas were provided economically and if no revenue was received, the services could not continue.

The pass laws were the most significant cause of racial friction in South Africa, Mrs Helen Suzman (PFP, Houghton) said.

Speaking in the committee stage of the Co-operation, Development and Education Vote, she said the laws were "totally discriminatory".

They bedevilled the relationship between Blacks and police, and Blacks and officials, jammed the country's jails, and further impoverished poverty stricken homelands.

**Urban**

They did not stop people from coming into the urban areas.

She welcomed the admission by Dr Viljoen, that the urbanisation of Blacks was inevitable and desirable.

"He wants revised influx control on the basis of the recommendation of the Rieckert Commission — that a job and improved accommodation be the basis for legal urbanisation.

"In other words, influx control is to be based on how to let them in rather than on how to keep them out."

Mrs Suzman said she took issue with the Minister on these views, despite the fact that they were "light years" away from the "horrible" basis of the migrant labour system.

"What a pity he was not in charge of this portfolio instead of deadbeats like De Wet Nel, M C Botha and Piet "Promises", or an ideologue like Dr Verwoerd, who set this country on the disaster course it has been following for so many years."

**Horrrifying**

The Eastern Cape unrest had had horrrifying consequences, not only for the communities involved but also for the country in general, Mr E K Moorcroft (PFP, Albany) said.

Also speaking in committee on the same vote, Mr Moorcroft said the symptoms of this unrest were not difficult to pinpoint as it had enjoyed maximum media exposure.

No-one could deny that there was intimidation but it was no good embarking on a witch-hunt.

Socio-economic and

political causes were the reasons for the unrest.

Mr J H W Mentz (NP, Vryheid) said he agreed that there were serious problems and that the unrest was endangering both Whites and Blacks.

There was a small group of intimidators who made Black pupils and workers their target and forced them to take part in the unrest.

There was a decline in

respect and authority among Black youths and this could not be tolerated.

"To them it is a mark of honour (ere-teken) to clash with the police," Mr Mentz said.

The PFP would do everything in its power to bring about peace and stability in Black unrest areas, Mr Horace van Rensburg (PFP, Bryanston) said.

CSO: 3400/151

SOUTH AFRICA

FOURIE CALLS FOR PLANNING OF SECOND SOWETO

Johannesburg THE CITIZEN in English 4 May 85 p 4

[Text] HOUSE OF ASSEMBLY. — It was vital to finalise the planning of a second Soweto, Mr A Fourie (MP Turffontein) said.

Speaking in the committee stage of the Co-operation, Development and Education Vote, he said it was disturbing that the guide plan for the Witwatersrand did not make provision for additional ground for such a city.

The ground available for the expansion of Soweto and other proclaimed Black residential areas was totally inadequate.

"I understand urgent negotiations are being held in connection with the Blaubank area west of Randfontein. Without coming out in favour of this site, or otherwise, I must say it is very well situated for road and rail transport."

There was a shortage of more than 150 000 housing units, for about 850 000 people, in the Soweto area.

CSO: 3400/151

4 June 1985

## SOUTH AFRICA

## COMMITTEE TO PROBE INDIAN LAND NEEDS

Johannesburg THE CITIZEN in English 4 May 85 p 4

[Text]

HOUSE OF DELEGATES. — A two-man committee to investigate agricultural land requirements for Indians was announced in the House by the Own Affairs Minister of Housing, Local Government and Agriculture, Mr Baldeo Dookie.

Speaking on the Agriculture Vote of the Budget, he said he had appointed Mr P R Bodasing and Mr Y S Chinsamy, leading members of the Natal Indian Cane Growers Association, as members of the committee with the request that they should submit a report to him within five months.

The committee's terms of reference included establishing the extent of:

- Agricultural land expropriated from Indians under the Group Areas Act;
- Land expropriated for the consolidation of national states;
- The type of farming in which Indians were now engaged; and
- Other types of farming which would be suitable.

Mr Dookie said Indian farmers owned or leased 24 844 ha but the land shortage was still serious.

In the interim, he said, his department would lease land which would not be used in the next five to ten years to Indian farmers for "short term cash crop use," he said.

Mr Naratuk Jamuna (NPP, North Coast), said he did not grudge desperate White maize farmers the additional R100-million State help but the House should be concerned that Indian farmers who were on the brink of ruin through drought and floods had got no such State aid.

Mr John Iyman (Sol, Camperdown), said Indian farmers needed to be saluted for the progress they had been able to make in the face of 63 "anti-Indian" laws in South Africa.

CSO: 3400/151

SOUTH AFRICA

PLANS FOR KWAZULU, NATAL

Johannesburg THE CITIZEN in English 4 May 85 p 4

[Text] HOUSE OF ASSEMBLY. — The Minister of Co-operation, Development and Education, Dr Gerrit Viljoen should spell out what plans the Government had for Natal and KwaZulu, Mr Ray Swart (PFP, Berea) said.

Speaking in the Co-operation and Development Vote of the Budget, Mr Swart said the concept of having two separate administrations for Natal and KwaZulu was impractical because the two areas depended on each other socially and economically.

He said the final consolidation plans for KwaZulu had been delayed for so long, it now appeared that the Government might have found it impossible to consolidate the area.

"If this is the case, then it is high time the Minister tells us what the Government's plans are for the region. There is a wide spectrum of feeling among the people of Natal, of which the Minister must be aware, that a separate dispensation for Natal can be worked out."

Mr Swart said Dr Viljoen should give serious

consideration to the Buthezi Commission report.

Mr Swart said Dr Viljoen should give more legitimacy to the community councils and Black local authorities, because the Black communities had always re-

garded them as an arm of the administration boards.

Dr Viljoen should also be given a clear declaration of intent about the ultimate rights of Blacks because at present Black authorities were being seen as a substitute for full political participation at the highest level, Mr Swart said.

CSO: 3400/151

SOUTH AFRICA

AFRIKANER WOMEN DEMAND PRESERVATION OF SEX LAWS

Pretoria DIE AFRIKANER in Afrikaans 10 Apr 85 p 1

[Text] Afrikaner women are now coming forward increasingly as advocates of preserving the Mixed Marriages Act and Article 16 of the Immorality Act.

Amidst signs that both measures will shortly disappear from the books, women in several places gathered last week to ask that they be preserved.

In Pretoria, more than 1,000 people gathered, and memoranda in favor of preservation of the laws were presented to political and cultural leaders. Professor Carel Boshoff accepted the memoranda on behalf of the Afrikaner People's Sentinel, and Mr Gert Beegte and Dr Andries Treurnicht on behalf of the HNP [Reconstituted National Party] and the CP [Conservative Party], respectively.

Ceremonious

Similar gatherings were also held in several Northern and Eastern Transvaal towns. Gatherings of women are also being planned for Cape Town, among other places.

The gathering in Pretoria was especially ceremonious, and was opened with a Scripture reading and prayer, followed by singing, the reading of the abbreviated memorandum, the presentation of the complete memorandum and the laying of a wreath at the Voortrekker Monument.

Word has it that the memorandum will also be presented shortly to the government, possibly to the state president, Mr P. W. Botha, himself.

Struggle

In the abbreviated memorandum it was stated that the Afrikaner nation of people is presently once again struggling for its preservation and for its freedom in its own state. The struggle is different from what it was in the past: not against visible enemies, like at Blood River, Majuba and Magersfontein, but rather against an enemy that is attacking Afrikaners spiritually and taking away their self-determination piece by piece. "We are struggling against the spirit of liberalism that has taken possession of our country, that is forcing

on us a colorless South Africanism that is alien to the people, and that is ushering us into an integrated, unified state in which we as a white minority will be stripped of power and of a future, just as the white minorities of Zimbabwe and elsewhere in the Third World.

"As opposed to this," the memorandum continues, "we say that a state over which he alone has control has been something special to the Afrikaner throughout his history, and remains so today. It was for this that he left behind his worldly possessions and chose the hardship of the Great Trek; it was for this that he took up arms in 1838, 1881 and 1899 and left behind an heroic period in our history. Afrikaners, firm in their national identity, have in the past given their lives in order to be able to bequeath freedom in their own state to following generations. This is a precious possession, which the generations that are now living cannot abandon."

#### Identity

The women point out that the Afrikaner already has to share the country with Indians, coloreds and blacks, that the government already includes Indians and coloreds, that preparations are being made to grant access to the black majority as well, and that there is a systematic movement away from national separation, which was to provide the Afrikaner and other peoples with their own living space, free from the threat of being supplanted.

This situation is coupled with economic distress and hardship, which is undermining the Afrikaner's ability to resist creeping enslavement and supplantation.

"Against this backdrop, the impending repeal of the Mixed Marriages Act and Article 16 of the Immorality Act must be viewed as a serious assault on our identity and future," the memorandum reads.

The women declare that there can be no negotiations on the right of the Afrikaner to preserve his identity as a free white nation of people in South Africa. The separation of people into their various living contexts must be preserved and extended, and the two measures at hand, for which the forefathers resolutely fought, must not be abandoned.

Legislation such as the Mixed Marriages Act and Article 16 of the Immorality Act must be viewed as the individual affair of each nation of people. The Afrikaner is not prepared to be prompted in this by other population groups.

Therefore, the government is asked not only to keep the legislation in question on the books, but to strictly enforce it as well. In addition, the legislation must be backed up with the requisite separate geographical, economic and political living spaces for each nation of people.

An appeal to leaders is being made by the women to do everything in their power to inform and enlighten the people about the destructive consequences that the repeal of the laws in question could have. They must try to prevent such a repeal at all costs.

SOUTH AFRICA

PRO-SWAP0 ADVOCATE STRIPPED OF SADF RANK

Durban DAILY NEWS in English 22 Apr 85 p 2

[Text]

WINDHOEK: A member of Swapo, Mr Anton Lubowski, has been stripped of his commission in the South African Defence Force.

Mr Lubowski, a member of the Windhoek Bar, was a second lieutenant.

He said he had been told in a telegram that the State President had decided in terms of the Defence Act to cancel his rank from April 12.

Mr Lubowski (33), said the telegram followed a letter from the State President's office last month while he was in Geneva.

The letter referred to a newspaper statement by Mr Lubowski, who announced his Swapo membership last May, and told him to repudiate

that statement before March 30 or lose his commission.

"I was asked by a newspaper whether I would fight for Swapo or South Africa if called upon to do so," he said.

"My reply was that as a Namibian patriot I would fight for Swapo, because South Africa's military occupation of Namibia is illegal and I saw it as my duty to drive South Africa out of the country. I stand by that statement."

Mr Lubowski said he was pleased to be "rid of it, because I emphatically reject being part of the SADF".

He became a lieutenant during his national service in 1971.—Sapa

CSO: 3400/146



SOUTH AFRICA

AZAPO MEMBERS INJURED IN AZASM, AZASO CONFRONTATION

Johannesburg SOWETAN in English 23 Apr 85 pp 1, 4

[Article by Ali Mphaki]

[Text] **SIX people were injured in a violent confrontation between members of the Azanian Students' Movement and the Azanian Students' Organisation at the University of the North (Turfloop) on Sunday.**

Among the injured was former Azanian People's Organisation (Azapo) president Mr Lybon Mabasa, who was invited to deliver a paper at a meeting organised by Azasm on the campus.

Azasm is affiliated to the National Forum with sister bodies Azapo, Azanyu and other black consciousness organisations. Azasm is affiliated to the United Democratic Front with other progressive democrat organisations committed to the Freedom Charter.

The two groupings, the BC movement and Progressive Democrats (PDs) constitute the major political ideologies in the black community.

The confrontation at

Turfloop is a continuation of the rivalry between them as they vie for control of the black masses and to make capital out of any situation that arises.

About 10 days ago UDF supporters barred Azapo supporters from attending the mass Uitenhage funeral. Early this year Azapo members were injured after being attacked by Congress of South African Students supporters at Tembisa. Cosas is also affiliated to the UDF.

Others injured were Mr Thami Mcerwa, vice-president of Azasm, Mr Sydney

Temba (who was admitted at the Groothoek Hospital with multiple stab wounds), also an Azapo member, Ms Sesi Baloyi, Azasm member, Mr Teboho Moloi, Azaso member and former Turfloop SRC president, and another student whose name was not available to The SOWETAN late yesterday.

Mr Temba's condition was late last night reported to be serious

after he had undergone an emergency operation.

Mr Mabasa said while the Azasm meeting was on, a "group of students shouting support for the Freedom Charter marched into the hall disrupting the proceedings.

"They asked us to leave the hall as they had also booked it for their meeting. We left," said Mr Mabasa. He added: "While we continued with the meeting at a different hall, they came in again and a fight broke out.

"I saw Sesi Baloyi being beaten up. Thami and I were caught in the toilets. I saw them chopping and stabbing Thami, breaking his teeth with a brick in the process."

But both Azaso and UDF yesterday denied attacking BC activists, claiming they (BC) came on the campus armed with an assortment of weapons.

"Since when do people attend meetings

armed?" Azaso president Mr Simphiwe Mgoduso asked.

Azapo said in a statement: "In the context of various assaults to our members since 1982, the attack on Mabasa is the straw that will break the camel's back."

The UDF, of which Azaso is an affiliate, said in a statement: "We appeal to Azapo and Azasm leadership to control their members. We ourselves will continue to restrain our rank and file against any form of provocation."

The Anglican Bishop of Johannesburg, Bishop Desmond Tutu, said: "Who benefits from this? Why must we intimidate one another? When are we going to learn to agree to disagree? Black solidarity has been preached for too long for us not to understand its importance."

Other leaders pointed out that an Azapo-UDF fight would lay both organisations wide open to attacks by Government-

supporting organisations. These Government-supporting organisations would attack members of the one organisation knowing that the rival group would be blamed, they said.

CSO: 3400/146

SOUTH AFRICA

CITIZEN VIEWS BOMB BLASTS, ANC ACTIVITIES

MB081438 Johannesburg THE CITIZEN in English 2 May 85 p 6]

[Editorial: "The Blasts"]

[Text] The limpet mine attacks on Anglo American and Anglovaal buildings were obviously the work of the African National Congress, since only the ANC has access to limpet mines.

The attacks coincide with the dismissal of black mine workers by both groups for being involved in illegal strikes.

The NAC has not previously attacked the giant conglomerates, concentrating its bombings on government buildings and on electricity and other installations.

On the other hand, it is a movement that is quite prepared to exploit a situation to its own advantage--and the attacks, coinciding with the dismissals, can be seen as an attempt to demonstrate the ANC's sympathies with the workers.

It can also be an attempt by the ANC to demonstrate its aversion to the capitalist system, since both corporations are massively involved in many business and industrial undertakings besides mining--and the ANC, in which the South African Communist Party plays a significant role, has as one of its platforms a redistribution of the country's wealth.

The ANC leadership recently warned multinational firms they would be subject to attack for so-called exploitation of black workers--and the attacks on Anglo American and Anglovaal, though they are not multinationals in the sense of the word as used by the ANC, may indicate that local giants may similarly be singled out.

The antagonism towards the big corporations, especially Anglo American, has intensified as big business moves closer to the government.

Mr Harry Oppenheimer, former chairman of Anglo American, who is still the major shareholder of that huge corporation, has supported the government's reformist programmes.

He has also used his considerable influence overseas in an attempt to prevent disinvestment.

Not that he is satisfied with the pace of change. Last year he said bluntly that "the undoubted risks involved in accelerating the rate of internal change are risks that ought to be taken."

Nevertheless, he added that Mr P. W. Botha had "set us on a new course and we wish him good fortune on his move."

Speaking in New York, he urged South Africans and friends of South Africa to accept the new constitution as a beginning, while at the same time pressing strongly for a share for the blacks in central power.

It was quite wrong to think of the new dispensation as a sham, or as a device to entrench apartheid in some new form, he said.

"The government's prestige is fully committed to consensus politics and this in itself gives substantial power to coloureds and Indians."

And he added: "South Africa is at last on the move, economically, socially and politically."

More recently, the AMC television's Nightline programme, Mr Oppenheimer warned Americans that disinvestment could push South African into a conflict situation that would be a disaster for Blacks.

Mr Oppenheimer, in a speech last month in London, suggested that the government would have to talk to the ANC and the United Democratic Front if there was to be peaceful change.

But he fell far short of ANC demands when he said that he was in favour of one man, one vote within a "fancy" constitutional arrangement guaranteeing the protection of individual and group rights.

The aim of the ANC is to topple the White regime by violence--and, as was the case with revolutionary movements elsewhere in Africa, it wants one man, one vote Black majority Marxist rule.

Giant corporations like Anglo American, from their experience in Black Africa, are unlikely to favour that kind of solution of the country's problems.

Big business may say airily that it could live under a Black government, but we doubt whether it wants to see an ANC government of the type we have mentioned.

CSO: 3400/171

SOUTH AFRICA

SHUT TRANSKEI CONSULAR OFFICES CALL

East London DAILY DISPATCH in English 17 Apr 85 p 3

[Text] UMTATA — The opposition Transkei Democratic Progressive Party (DPP) has called on the Transkei Government to close its consular offices in South Africa in protest against the shooting of Transkeians in Uitenhage and at Cape Town squatter camps.

The leader of the DPP, Mr C. S. Mda, said he could see "no wisdom" in keeping the consular offices open.

He said the Transkei Government should take the matter of the shootings up very strongly with the SA Government because Transkei citizens were involved.

Mr Mda was commenting on resolutions taken at the recent DPP congress in Engcobo, at the town hall.

He said the meeting was supposed to have been held at the Nkondolo Great Place near Engcobo, but government officials had felt it would have been improper to use this as a venue.

Mr Mda said his party deplored the shootings.

He said the South African Government should try to negotiate with "true political leaders" and not appointed community councillors.

He felt South Africa should release Nelson Mandela without conditions, because he was recognised as the "true leader of the blacks in South Africa." Mr Mda said his party would be holding a complementary congress in December to finalise its national executive committee in preparation for the general election next year. — DDR

SOUTH AFRICA

# NO FUNDS TO REBUILD SCHOOLS DAMAGED IN UNREST

MB091520 Johannesburg SAPA in English 1505 GMT 9 May 85

[Text] Port Elizabeth, 9 May, SAPA--No funds are available for rebuilding the 43 schools damaged or destroyed in the Eastern Cape unrest, a spokesman from the department of education and training said today.

The department had had a national backlog of between 5,000 and 6,000 classrooms before the unrest started and R140 million had been committed to tackling this work, Mr Job Schoeman, the department's chief press liaison officer, said in an interview in Port Elizabeth.

Mr Gunther Merbold, the department's cape director said it was not the policy of the department to simply rebuild what had been destroyed.

Rebuilding before the "climate was right" could well mean the structures would simply be destroyed again.

"Only when communities show an interest in their children returning to school will we ensure that provision is made for schooling to continue," he said.

Three schools in the Eastern Cape had been destroyed in the unrest and the department would probably have to consider erecting temporary prefabricated classrooms until something more permanent can be done," Mr Merbold said.

"At other schools where only classrooms and office blocks have been destroyed, double sessions will have to be held."

Mr Merbold said that things were back to normal in Somerset East, Grahamstown, Port Alfred, Adelaide, Aberdeen and some schools in East London.

In Port Elizabeth only the lower primary schools were back to normal.

According to Mr Schoeman, no provision had been made in the department's 1985 budget for the rebuilding of schools.

But an amount of R140 million had been set aside for the building of new schools and extending existing schools countrywide.

Mr Schoeman said: "We have already committed ourselves to spending this amount on certain projects. As it is we have a backlog of 5,000 to 6,000 classrooms.

"We do not normally budget for in advance for damaged schools and it is doubtful that there will be any money left over for this purpose."

He also said that the department was adopting a "wait and see" attitude before it would even consider evaluating the damage to the schools.

Mr Schoeman added however, that if there was any money left over it could well go towards the rebuilding of schools. Until then church halls and other buildings would be used to house pupils.

CSO: 3400/171

SOUTH AFRICA

BRIEFS

CAPE LEADERS MISSING--The United Democratic Front [UDF] in the eastern Cape says it has been unable to trace three (PEDCO) [expansion unknown] leaders who disappeared more than a week ago, but families and relatives are convinced that they are being held by police. Mike Louw has this report: [Louw] It is now a week since three leaders of the Port Elizabeth [word indistinct] disappeared into thin air, but the UDF East Cape President Edgar Ngoyi says although the UDF search has failed, family and residents know where they are. [Begin Ngoyi recording] Our attempts to find the (PEDCO) leadership has failed. Families and relatives are very concerned and convinced that they are in police hands, but even though police deny this the latest rumors are that they are kept in one of the police stations in Port Elizabeth. [end recording] [Louw] However, the police have issued a telegram denying that the three men, President [Qwaqwa Wolidelozi], Organizing Secretary [Champion Golelo], and Secretary General (Sipho Hashe) are in police detention. [Text] [Umtata Capital Radio in English 1900 GMT 15 May 85 MB]

UDF OFFICES SEARCHED BY POLICE--The Secretary of the United Democratic Front [UDF] in the Western Cape, Mr Trevor Manuel, says the offices of the UDF in Cape Town have been searched by the South African Security Police. The UDF is an umbrella body of organizations opposed to the political system in South Africa. The police liaison officer for the Western Cape, Captain Jan Calitz, has said police had searched the offices but would not confirm that documents had been taken. Several members of the UDF have been charged with treason in recent months. [Text] [Johannesburg International Service in English 1500 GMT 16 May 85 MB]

LESOTHO ORDER PATROL ROAD DISCUSSED--Representatives of several groups have met at Ladybrand to discuss the proposed patrol road on the border between South Africa and Lesotho. About 44 problem areas were discussed at the meeting, and solutions were suggested for the road, which will be about 450 km long. The meeting was attended by representatives of the defense force, the police, the border committee, the Department of Public Works and Land Affairs, the Department of Constitutional Development and Planning, and the Free State Roads department, and there is a note that construction on the road will begin shortly. [Text] [Johannesburg Domestic Service in English 0500 GMT 16 May 85 MB]



RED CROSS UNAWARE OF UNITA SUSPENSION OF TIES--The International Red Cross in Geneva says it has no knowledge of a statement made in London by a UNITA spokesman that the Angolan movement has decided to suspend all links with the Red Cross. A spokesman for the Red Cross told our Africa Desk that she was surprised about the decision, as the Red Cross and UNITA had worked together for many years. The spokesman said the Red Cross has also learned with surprise that a French humanitarian organization was negotiating the release of an English engineer captured in a mining town in northern Angola last week. The Portuguese service of the BBC quoted the spokesman as saying that the decision was due to a statement published by the Red Cross which cited UNITA as being responsible for the deterioration of the economic and political situation in Angola. [Text] [Johannesburg Domestic Service in English 1115 GMT 15 May 85 MB]

LABOR PROJECTS PLANNED--The government is to start labor intensive projects both inside and outside the national states in an attempt to fight unemployment. The minister of the cooperation, development and education, Dr Gerrit Viljoen, says in a statement issued in Cape Town that the potential for jobs inside and outside the national states numbers about 30,000. Fifty-three million rand of the 100 million rand set aside by the government for the fight against unemployment has been allocated to Dr Viljoen's department. The projects will include the establishment of infrastructures, do-it-yourself housing schemes and the upgrading of hostels, and labor intensive schemes in the rural areas of self-governing national states. Fourteen million rand have been made available to the Department of Foreign Affairs for job creation in the independent states. [Text] [Johannesburg Domestic Service in English 0500 GMT 10 May 85 MB]

CORN FARMERS MEET AGRICULTURE MINISTER--An amendment to the present marketing arrangements for maize is currently under consideration and will be finalized by the end of September. There is also the possibility that the amendment will include a change in the composition of the Maize Board. This was said in a statement in Cape Town by the minister of agriculture, economics, and water affairs, Mr Greyling Wentzel, after his talks with the NAMPO [National Maize Producers' Organization] executive in Pretoria. Mr Wentzel said the government had refused to reinstate NAMPO members to the Maize Board after they had resigned in protest at the decision not to increase the producer price of maize. The minister made it clear, however, that it was probable that the appointment of members to the Maize Board would be reconsidered once the amendment and been finalized. For the time being he had made an offer to NAMPO to submit to him via the South African Agricultural Union the names of four NAMPO executive members who were not among those who had resigned. Mr Wentzel said he was prepared to appoint two of those members, whose names had to be submitted to the board. The NAMPO executive has made it clear that it is not prepared to accept the minister's offer at this stage. [Text] [Johannesburg Domestic Service in English 0500 GMT 10 May 85 MB]

UNBANNING OF ANC, PAC URGED--A prominent South African church leader has called on the government to lift its ban on the ANC and the Pan-Africanist Congress, PAC. The general secretary of the South African Council of Churches, SACC, Beyers Naude, says these movements should be unbanned so they can operate as political parties inside South Africa. Speaking at the University of Cape

Town, Dr Naude said all exiles should be invited back to South Africa and all political prisoners should be released. He said this plan would reduce the conflict in the country. Dr Naude says nothing can be gained by prolonging white minority rule and has appealed to the government to, in his words, face this reality and to act accordingly. [Text] [Umtata Capital Radio in English 1900 GMT 8 May 85 BM]

NO FORMAL LINKS WITH AWB--The leader of the Conservative Party [CP], Dr Andries Treurnicht, says there is no formal alliance between his party and the Afrikaner Weerstandsbeweging [AWB]. Speaking on television, Dr Treurnicht said that the CP and AWB had certain principles in common, but that there was no coordinated action, no party ties, and no agreement on political campaigns between the two. Dr Treurnicht said whites had a right to demand their own territorial areas. There had to be a division in the ways groups expressed themselves in the political and cultural spheres. [Text] [Johannesburg Domestic Service in English 0500 GMT 14 May 85 MB]

MISINFORMATION ON SADF--The Minister of Defense, General Magnus Malan, says there is an intensive campaign in progress to misinform the South African youth about the defense force. Speaking at the centenary celebrations of Elliot, in the eastern Cape, Gen Malan said the ANC and the United Democratic Front made constant false allegations against the defense force: for example, that the defense force was used to destabilize the country's neighbors. The threat against South Africa was being carried out by a conglomerate of countries, organizations, and people, whose motives were political by nature. He said it was the duty of the older- and middle-aged generations to inform the younger generation correctly about the country's defense. [Text] [Johannesburg Domestic Service in English 1700 GMT 11 May 85 MB]

FRG BUSINESSMEN'S CONTRIBUTION--The minister of finance, Mr Barend du Plessis, says the German business community regards trade with South Africa as normal, in spite of political pressures. Mr Du Plessis said it was felt that through business, West German businessmen were making a valuable contribution to the social upliftment in South Africa. Speaking at Jan Smuts Airport this morning, after a brief visit to Germany, he said that bankers and businessmen were aware of the problems in South Africa, and there was respect for the way the sensitive situation was being handled. He said there was also an awareness among businessmen that the problems were being caused by people not interested in seeing the reforms under the new initiative succeed. The minister said that the feeling in the German business community could well affect the thinking in other European countries. He said the anti-South African campaign in West Germany was well organized, and rooted in certain religious bodies. He added, however, that unless legislative action was taken, West Germany would continue to have normal business dealings with South Africa. [Text] [Johannesburg Domestic Service in English 1700 GMT 11 May 85]

CSO: 3400/204

SWAZILAND

SADCC OFFICIAL COMMENTS ON SWAZI-RSA TIES

MB150904 London BBC World Service in English 1515 GMT 14 May 85

[From the "Focus on Africa" program]

[Text] The Southern African Development Coordination Conference, SADCC, set up 6 years [as heard] ago to reduce the economic dependence of black African states on South Africa, has been rather embarrassed by the activities of some of its own members who found themselves forced to continue and even increase their ties with South Africa, in particular, Swaziland, which now has a South African trade mission established. Aida Brako asked Simba Makoni, executive secretary of SADCC, how the organization viewed Swaziland's relations with South Africa:

[Begin recording] [Makoni] Well, SADCC was not intended and it is not intended to replace the sovereignty of national governments. SADCC is not a supranational organization. SADCC is there to serve and enhance the implementation of national policies and national programs within a regional perspective and a regional context. But I think if in their wisdom the government of Swaziland regarded it in the best interests of the Swazi nation to open a trade mission in South Africa and for South Africa to open a trade mission in Swaziland, SADCC has neither the intention nor the authority to contradict the perceived national interests of Swaziland, but what I can say is that this is also a major source of strength for SADCC. For us to experience the spectacle of one of our member states, just as we were meeting in her capital, to be also entering into this stronger association with South Africa further emphasizes the need for us to work more effectively to reduce our dependence. It only sharpens the issues that are facing SADCC. It only serves to rub in, if I may say so, why it is important for SADCC to work hard, to work strenuously to disengage, and presumably it is also a statement of how much work we need to do because if we were able to provide for Swaziland what she is seeking from South Africa, then probably there would have been no need for Swaziland to strengthen her commercial association with South Africa, and in a way we regard that as a challenge. It is an incentive for us to make our industries produce more so that we can give to Swaziland what she is going to buy from South Africa, to make our productive sectors produce more, to share around our region so as we do not see our member states opening trade missions with South Africa at the same time as we are trying to disengage from her.

[Brako] Are you saying then doctor that after 5 years of existence, SADCC has not really lived up to its expectations?

[Makoni] No, I am not saying that. SADCC has in fact made major achievements in 5 years, and I would like to say really, at the risk of blowing our own trumpets, that compared to several other regional organizations, SADCC has made a great achievement in a period of 5 years. And I must emphasize that 5 years is a very short time to assess a development process. And what we are engaged in is not an event; it is a process to uproot what has been entrenched over the many decades, if not centuries, that the economies of southern Africa have been deliberately oriented toward South Africa, and in some cases even integrated into appendages of the South African economy. We can't undo that in 5 years, and so I would think that we have made progress. And we must also bear in mind, SADCC was formed at a time when the world recession was just taking a firm grip, the region was in the grip of a very severe drought and destabilization by South Africa to almost all of our member states, poor Lesotho, Botswana here, Mozambique, Zimbabwe. We can't talk about Angola, which is occupied. It was a very hostile security atmosphere, and yet we've been able to make progress in 5 years. I think we have a lot to be proud of in 5 years. [End recording]

CSO: 3400/229

TANZANIA

NYERERE DISCUSSES SOUTHERN AFRICAN, GLOBAL, DOMESTIC ISSUES

Dar es Salaam SUNDAY NEWS in English 21 Apr 85 p 7

[Interview by President Julius Nyerere with a Zimbabwe Broadcasting Corporation television crew; date and place not given]

[Text] *PRESIDENT Nyerere recently granted a wide-ranging interview to a two-man television crew of the Zimbabwe Broadcasting Corporation (ZBC). The issues covered included the situation in southern Africa, the global situation and internal social and economic developments.*

QUESTION: — How do you see the situation in Southern Africa in general to date and what factors are likely to influence the future of Namibia and South Africa?

ANSWER: In general in southern Africa now we have three areas of struggle: Namibia itself where the struggle is obvious and we have South Africa where again the need for struggle is obvious. But also the Frontline States is an area of struggle — where apartheid is by its nature aggressive. That is why apartheid will cling or try to cling to Namibia as a buffer. And that is also why apartheid will try to create other buffers.

The racists were very happy before Mozambique, Angola and Zimbabwe became independent because they had that colonial buffer. It was destroyed. That did not please them. They would like to restore that buffer by creating puppet governments in those areas. Inevitably they will destabilise those countries. And that is why apartheid will oppress its own people internally because that oppression is not an end in itself, but it means also of maintaining the system of apartheid.

The answer naturally is struggle. There is no way in those areas in which you can reach freedom except through struggle.

Q: — During the struggle for independence for both Mozambique and Zimbabwe, Tanzania played the crucial role of providing rear bases and military training. Considering that this has proved somewhat difficult for the two countries to provide the same facilities for liberation movements in South Africa, what do you see as the logical strategy for the successful execution of the liberation struggle of Azania?

A: — It has never been the intention of the Frontline States and I think it would have been wrong for the Frontline States to want Mozambique, Zimbabwe and the other Frontline States to do for the freedom fighters of South Africa what we did for the freedom fighters of Angola, Mozambique, Zimbabwe and Namibia — give them rear bases where they have camps, train, arm their fighters and then send them to the countries concerned for liberation. It would have been wrong to do that. We do not want it happen.

But nevertheless the struggle will go on inside South Africa and inside Namibia. The training will have to go on; the training will take place basically inside South Africa and inside Namibia and does not have to be carried on within the Frontline States. Training can be done anywhere where it can be carried out.

Q: — The question of Namibia's independence as laid out by UN Resolution 435 seems to have become a matter of discussion rather than of implementation. What in your opinion would be the appropriate action on the part of all those involved?

A: — Basically we are stuck in the implementation of Security Council Resolution 435 because of the American linkage: That there is not going to be the implementation of that resolution until Cubans have left Angola. This is an impossible condition and the Angolans cannot accept it. The Angolans cannot agree that the Cuban troops which came to help them in the first place because their country was invaded by South Africa with connivance or the help of CIA (Central Intelligence Agency),

should leave while South Africans are still occupying southern Angolan; while Namibia is still under South African occupation and while South Africans, also I think with the connivance of the CIA are supporting UNITA.

So we have to put pressure on the Americans to agree to the implementation of Security Council Resolution 435 because this is the resolution of the Security Council and the Security Council includes the United States.

Q: — But considering that the United States is being intransigent?

A: — Then the struggle continues. Either the implementation of the Security Council 435 begins and, therefore, you end the armed struggle or the implementation is blocked by the United States and the armed struggle continues. SWAPO decides to continue with the armed struggle and Africa and the international community help SWAPO to continue the armed struggle.

Q: — In the past at the OAU summit it has been proposed that an army of the independence African states be formed with the objective of the total liberation of Africa; how do you view such a possibility?

A: — I have never accepted this and the fact that we have never built that army has not stopped Mozambique, Angola, Guinea, Zimbabwe from becoming independent. These countries have become independent without an African liberation army.

The people of those countries will fight for themselves. Nobody else will fight for them. They have done it in those countries and they will do it in the case of Namibia and South Africa. What we need to do is to give them the necessary support.

Q: — How would you see the possibility of imposing effective economic sanctions against the Pretoria regime and what would be the effect on the economics of some Frontline States who traditionally have economic ties with the regime?

A: — We have always appealed to the international community to apply sanctions against South Africa. We must always continue to do that and we must reject all arguments that

somehow this will hurt the Africans inside South Africa. This is nonsense; the Africans inside South Africa are being hurt and so if those people who advance this argument really mean it, let them also begin to be hurt, because it will reduce their own dividends which they get out of the system of apartheid.

Secondly we have always accepted the fact that in southern Africa there are countries which have had a traditional link with South Africa, economically. They cannot automatically cut these links. Some of these links will continue and will have to be reduced gradually.

Zimbabwe has certain links with South Africa; they can't simply cut off those links overnight. They cannot behave like Tanzania. We expect the traditional links will continue but that all those countries will refuse to build new links with South Africa.

We will support the Frontline States which have always had these links because we understand why they have these links and understand why it is not possible for them to cut them immediately. We will not understand building of new links with South Africa. We will not understand a refusal to begin gradually to reduce those links with South Africa which is one of the major purposes of SADCC.

Q: — Some economic analysts have attributed the failure of many African countries to dogmatism, can you comment?

A: — Just now a large number of African countries are in problems. But not just African countries. Britain is in trouble and many other countries are in trouble and the answer cannot be all dogmatism; and when they say dogmatism they mean socialism dogmatism. This is nonsensical. The African countries are in trouble, all of them, irrespective of ideology.

The so-called moderate countries are no better than the radicals; quite frankly the radicals are much better than so-called moderates because capitalist exploitation does not respect these ideologies of Africa. I have never accepted this. We are an underdeveloped continent, we continue to be underdeveloped and will continue to be un-

derdeveloped until we unite to change the present economic system in the world. We will never begin to develop until we do that. This is true of the radicals — the so-called progressive countries and the conservatives.

Q: — Can you give us an analysis of the effects of the IMF and World Bank policies on the economies of developing countries?

A: — You can find out the examples yourselves. It is now understood, at least it is easy to point out where riots have taken place, where governments have been overthrown as a result or at least partly as a result of an agreement reached between the government of that country and IMF. Sudan is the latest example of what has been happening.

It is not easy and I have challenged whoever knows it to give an example of a country which has prospered having signed an agreement with the IMF. There is not a single example. Lots of countries have agreements with the IMF. We have tried too. We have tried for the last five years to see if we could get an agreement with the IMF. We have not succeeded.

But we who have not succeeded and those who have succeeded, I don't believe there is really that much difference between my country which has failed for the last five years to sign an agreement with the IMF and another country which in the last five years might have signed two or three agreements with the IMF.

The IMF now is an instrument of economic control and political destabilisation of the Third World countries. It is quite clear.

Q: — What would you say are the main problems that the United Republic of Tanzania has been confronted with in its socio-economic transformation process, and what do you see as the main achievements?

A: — The main problems in many Third World countries, not just mine is first and foremost the problem of underdevelopment. This is the first problem any country which emerges out of colonialism will be confronted with. We were confronted with the problem of underdevelopment and it is still going on.

A major achievement is a national consensus which appreciates this problem and in unity and sufficient clarity to begin to deal with the problem of underdevelopment, understanding internal situation, understanding the regional set-up in which we are working and understanding the international set-up in which we are functioning.

I think as a nation we are quite clear of our position in the world and quite clear of what we ought to do not on our own but, in cooperation with other Third World countries both in Africa and outside Africa to tackle the problem of underdevelopment.

**Q:—** Considering that you are now about to retire; what do you see as the main task of the Africans and what does the future hold for the continent?

**A:—** Last November when the OAU met they decided that now we must put on the agenda (I hope permanently) of the OAU, the economic liberation of the continent. I am hoping (also) that we will take more seriously the objective of the OAU; not just liberation but unity. Unity also as an instrument of that liberation, not simply the goal but as in-

strument of that liberation.

When we were fighting for independence from colonialism, we supported one another. We never undermined one another; never. You would look like a traitor if one nationalist movement undermined another nationalist movement in that first phase of the struggle. It would be looked upon as treacherous.

In the second phase there is some feeling that Tanzania can undermine Zimbabwe and Zimbabwe can undermine Tanzania without being regarded as traitors. But it is much more important now to work together. That is why I hope that in the second phase of our liberation, we will also work for African unity because it is a necessity and an instrument of that total liberation.

**Q:—** Considering that there is the problem between the Sahrawi Democratic Republic and expansionist Morocco, how do you see it being resolved?

**A:—** That problem will continue. In the last two or three years it took a different dimension — a divisive one in the OAU. It virtually paralysed the OAU which was very nonsensical. That has

gone but the real issue remains: The independence of the people of Sahara from the occupation of their country by Morocco. It is continuing and I think it will continue in the same way as

Namibia. These people will have to struggle until the colonial power leaves them.

**Q:—** What concrete steps is the OAU taking to ensure that the Indian Ocean remains a nuclear free zone?

**A:—** I am not quite sure that the Indian Ocean is a nuclear-free zone. The United States is involved in the Indian Ocean. I am not quite sure that it (the US) does not use or carry nuclear weapons around this area. The Soviet Union is involved in the Indian Ocean. I don't believe the Indian Ocean is a nuclear-free zone. We want it to be a nuclear-free zone. We shall continue to struggle in the United Nations to get support that the Indian Ocean should be declared a nuclear-free zone and that all nuclear powers should respect that. And we will continue doing it in the Non-Aligned Movement, but in the sense that this is one of those struggles that will have to continue.

**Q:—** Considering that the objective of the Non-Aligned Movement was to balance between the blocs, do you think this role was being achieved?

**A:—** I think the main objective of the Non-Aligned countries was to safeguard their own independence in a world which had been polarised between an Eastern bloc and a Western bloc; and where there was a kind of demand; a kind of expectation that as these countries became independence, one by one would decide whether to belong to the Eastern bloc or the Western bloc.

When the Movement was formulated there were very few members and now the Non-Aligned Movement has a large number of countries; some of them are very friendly to the Eastern bloc and some of them to the Western bloc.

But I think the Non-Aligned Movement still insisting that whatever their bilateral leanings, there should be a refusal to be drawn into automatic support of one side or the other irrespective of the issue as if we were aligned members of NATO or the Warsaw Pact.

And I think basically we have been consisted to that objective and today the Non-Aligned Movement, has greater influence than when it started and I think it is being accepted, recognised as such today much more than it was when it was founded.

**Q:—** What role do you see yourself playing in Tanzanian and African politics after your retirement as the President of Tanzania and Chama Cha Mapinduzi?

**A:—** First within Tanzania for a couple of years I will remain Chairman of my Party and to the extent that that Party has a leadership role in the country I will continue playing a role within the Party within Tanzania.

Within the international community, I am citizen of this world. My experience where I have been for all these years has given me some awareness of what is going on in the world. I am made aware of what is going in the world and I hope as a citizen of the world, and particularly as African citizen and of the Third World. I will play my role in whatever form I can.

**Q:—** Coming to the question of a one Party state system, from your experiences what are the advantages and how would you see this being achieved in Zimbabwe?

**A:—** I don't think I can

pronounce on Zimbabwe, but I can tell you we virtually became a one-party state because frankly we have had no other parties. The nationalist movement here was so dominant that it was ridiculous to think otherwise except through a one-party system. What we did was really to legalise a fact of life.

The political fact was that at independence we were a massive organisation with nothing else to compete with us. So without legalising it we would have run into unnecessary troubles. We legalised the position. But it has helped us. I was not ideologically committed to a single party system at all because my own training was western training politically and I accepted the multi-party system, but we didn't have the other party. So we accepted the reality.

But in a sense, today I am glad that was our position because we are very proud of the unity of my country. I am not sure that we would have this unity of which

we are so proud if we were a multiparty system. I think the little parties would have wanted to exploit all sorts of thing: Tribe, religion, ... all sorts of things and they would have found followers.

So now I am almost committed to a one-party system. But am committed for Tanzania, I am not committed for other situations because other situations can be different.

For instance suppose your country evolved to a position where basically there was one party, you couldn't create other parties in order to have a multiparty system. On the other hand if you have other parties, then you accept the reality that you have other parties.

**Q:—** What do you consider as the preconditions for the transformation of a predominantly nationalist Party into a vanguard revolutionary Party capable of bringing about progressive socio-economic change?

**A:—** About the experience of our Party. I don't know whether I want to transform our mass nationalist Party into a vanguard Party in the sense in which I do understand vanguard parties. Just as it was a mass Party which led us to Independence, I think it is a mass Party which will continue the mobilisation of our people, leading to greater independence — economic independence through development.

This does not mean that the two or two and half million members of CCM will all be committed to the goal that we have. I don't think so. And I don't think they have to. I think even in our own Party you will still have a hard core of highly committed people and basically these people will find positions of influence and will influence the Party itself and the Party will continue the leadership of the country. So within the Party and the Party will continue group in the Party — an activist group. Every party has this activist group and ours is a mass Party which has an activist group.

We don't want to turn it into a small elitist Party. Call it a vanguard party; we see no point in doing this. And we don't believe the nationalist phase is

over in Africa; I have never believed this. We are going to live with the nationalist phase for a long long time. The nationalist revolution in Africa is not something that takes place one day and its over and then you begin a socialist revolution.

CSO: 3400/179



TANZANIA

IDEOLOGY, SUCCESSION, ROLE OF THE PARTY

Dar es Salaam SUNDAY NEWS in English 7, 14 Apr 85

[Two part series of a recorded transcript documentary by David Wheeler of the BBC with Prime Minister Salim Ahmed Salim, Zanzibar's Chief Minister Seif Shariff Hamad, Minister for Cabinet Affairs Amir Jamal, Minister for Planning and Economic Affairs Kighoma Malima and other Tanzanians; date and place not specified]

[7 Apr 85 p 7]

[Text]

WOLFE: I would say it's a hundred and eighty degrees away from a consumer society. For example, my wife goes marketing, she never even asks the price: if she finds it, she buys it!

WHEELER: Thus speaks an American executive with long experience of Africa. But, whether you live in Tanzania, as he does, or are a visitor, as I have been, you can't help noticing that this is no paradise for the consumer. The shops have very little to sell you, and what they have is horrifyingly expensive. A bottle of local beer costs two pounds, a Mars Bar, two pounds fifty and a small sized Milk of Magnesia to assist the traveller with the limited attractions of the Tanzanian cuisine will cost him six pounds. Tanzania has the unwelcome distinction of being not only one of the poorest countries in the world, but also one of the dearest, thanks to an official rate of exchange that has absolutely no relation to reality. I may as well come right out with it and say that under the socialist rule of President Julius Nyerere,

Tanzania has drifted very very close to total economic disintegration. What has gone wrong during its twenty-three years of independence? What, if anything, has gone right? For a diagnosis, let's go first to the Minister of Finance, Cleopa Msuya:

MSUYA: We are not selling enough overseas to earn enough foreign exchange to meet our needs for servicing the economy as well as for investment. We are not able to raise additional inflows of capital from overseas, partly because commercial banks, as you know, because of the debt problem in African countries and Tanzania included, have cut back the official aid. And financial resources from multi-national institutions are declining. So, that is one set of problems which is essentially a balance of payments problem. But, internally we also have a problem of declining production, and productivity. And this has several repercussions: we are not able to balance the government budget; we are not able to generate from government revenue enough resources to keep all the services that have been established going. And thirdly, we have this

problem of recurring food shortages primarily because of weather fluctuations.

WHEELER: Finance Minister, Msuya, you realise doesn't pull any punches. Indeed, one of the more encouraging things about Tanzania today is the willingness of senior ministers to admit that there have been awful blunders. How unlike some of our own dear leaders. Many of Tanzania's woes have been caused by external factors: The war with Uganda; the break-up of the East African Community; the devastating increase in the price of oil; the lessening demand in world markets for staple crops like sisal. Buffeted by adversity, the country's leaders have adopted a new mood of economic realism. Whether this extends to Tanzania's founding father, President Nyerere, soon to step down from office, I am not sure. But it evidently commands a majority of his cabinet. Even so, there is a reluctance to go along with all the harsh measures currently being proposed by the International Monetary Fund before it will sanction any more loans. Tanzania has been negotiating with the IMF for years but without any agreement.

**Nyerere's Prime Minister, comparatively new to the job, is another plain speaker, Salim Ahmed Salim:**

**SALIM:** The irony of our situation is that almost all our friends in the West give us accolades for the tough budgetary measures that we have taken, but these accolades, if not supplemented by concrete measures, frankly, do not help Tanzania a lot. And what we are saying is that in respect to our negotiations with the IMF, we'd be prepared to have an agreement, to accept terms, which frankly we believe those terms are in the interest of Tanzania. If you are sick, and you go to a doctor, and somehow a doctor prescribes to you very strong medicine and you know that medicine is very strong,

perhaps very painful, but you want to get well: You will take that medicine, irrespective of the momentary difficulties, the momentary pain. But if you are sick, and you go to a doctor, and somehow you have reason to believe that the medicine which the doctor is prescribing is tantamount to poison, then you have to be a highly irrational person to accept that poison, and so that is our situation.

**WHEELER:** The medicine which the IMF wants Tanzania to swallow includes devaluation; higher interest rates; wage restraint and such like nasty stuff. The Tanzanians say they have already taken a prescription of their own, an austerity programme which includes less money for industrial investment, and an all-out attempt to restore agricultural production to the levels of ten years ago. Bankers like Amon Nsekela, Chairman of the National Bank of Commerce, now give priority to loans for farming. But why had the country's agriculture been allowed to slide for so long?

**NSEKELA:** Because there was a lot of talking. I mean, since the days of the colonial administration in this country, we've always talked of agriculture being the backbone of the economy. It has never been said otherwise, but nobody has actually done anything about that statement. For the first time in my view we are now beginning to address ourselves positively to the question. Government now has given more resources to the development of agriculture, and individuals, corporations and companies are also directing themselves to that.

**WHEELER:** And not a moment too soon. With production of some staple crops only a fraction of what they have been. In fact this vast country with every kind of climate, from the steamy shores of the Indian Ocean, to the snowline of Kilimanjaro, has been unable to feed itself. A damning indictment of what the West perceives as Tanzania's obsession with the nationalisation of business and industry. There are over four hundred state companies known as "parastatals" and with collectivism in agriculture. Prime Minister, Salim:

**SALIM:** I think the outside perception of Tanzania is always exaggerated in one form or another. I lived in the United States for some eleven years. When I was in the States it was amazing to read what was being written on Tanzania. My God, you'd believe that in Tanzania everything — literally everything — is collectivised, the whole of agriculture is collectivised, all that our people are doing is based on collectivity, and that is farthest removed from the truth. To begin with, in the field of agriculture our agriculture is mostly done by individual farmers, it is privately owned. So, that's one thing. Secondly, we have nationalised the major means of production in the country, but still there is a considerable private sector operating in Tanzania. So what we are trying to do: I think the challenge before Tanzania is one, to ensure that the . . . . . institutions

which the government has taken over — the parastatals — work efficiently, effectively and productively. Secondly, to provide opportunities for the investors who want to invest in the country, and for the private sector to play its useful and dynamic part in the development of our country.

**WHEELER:** So Tanzania was never quite as socialist, or as centrally directed as we all thought, or was it? Under President Nyerere, hundreds of thousands of peasants were compelled to leave the plots their families had worked for generations and go into villages. You can't help thinking that if this sort of measure had been carried out by colonial administration the corridors of the UN would have rung with passionate denunciation. But, according to Nyerere's veteran Minister of State, Amir Jamal, the intention was wholly benign:

**JAMAL:** We had to have some kind of economic organisation of society, and this was necessary that it should be on the basis of groups of people living in villages together. That was the substance of villagisation. Because of the deep philosophical input which the President put in of living together as a family, he drew very heavily on the concept of *Ujamaa* which is really familyhood. That in the process a lot of people have found that we had now discovered a new word for socialism,

which is our own word which is *Ujamaa* — which is true, that it was so — but that it meant suddenly the same thing as it meant to anybody who had read Marx or Lenin or something else, which of course was false altogether. After a while we gave up trying to explain to anybody we said: "Look for heaven's sake let's try and work it out for ourselves." We have not altogether succeeded in our ambitions, largely because I think, the task has been too large for the resources that were available to us, but fundamentally village is a group of peasants living together, receiving services together, particularly social services, but each one responsible for his own piece of cultivation of land and to the extent of which you could share services like fertilisers and insecticides and transport facilities together, fine, this is what we encourage to do it.

**WHEELER:** But, in practice, the village schools are frequently without text books. A random check of village dispensaries showed some without even a thermometer, or wash basin. And the village water supply often breaks down due to inadequate maintenance. Christopher Rombulow-Pearse who manages a British aid project, lists some of the other disadvantages of pushing everyone into villages.

**ROMBULOW-PEARSE:** Too many people were concentrated into the centre of the villages, this resulted in over-use of the agricultural land in the centre, and the lack of use of the agricultural land towards the periphery. People cannot look after their farms properly unless they're within a reasonable walking distance.

If they have to walk too far they will tend not to walk which means that the outlying farms will get attacked by baboon and other vermin. The farmers can't keep control over weeds or diseases and the farms suffer as a result. In some villages there are too

many people anyway. The land is insufficient to support that number of people. A third problem is too many cattle, a fourth problem is fuel wood. There are very few trees, this is particularly the case in north east Tabora Region where there is hardly a tree.

**WHEELER:** So Tanzania has made a U-turn. Rombulow-Pearse is working on a pilot scheme at Tabora in the arid north-west of Tanzania, to take some people out of villages and install them in small hamlets nearby. So that while having access to the facilities of the village, they'll get bigger plots of workable land.

**ROMBULOW-PEARSE:** What villages have achieved is unity. There is a remarkable social cohesion in these villages. They are an administrative and social unit with great depth of feeling. I've been out here since colonial times and I've battered my head against so many brick walls and

Now, at last, it seems as if the brick walls have been knocked down and that we can really start working and getting production up again.

**WHEELER:** Many unfortunate peasants have been compulsorily moved three or even four times. Such food as they produced was barely sufficient for their own needs, let alone to provide a surplus for cash. And in any case, if they did earn money, there was nothing to buy with it. But today Caroline Boag, an entomologist working on pest control with Voluntary Service Overseas, detects at least a glimmer of hope:

**BOAG:** Farmers are only too keen now to move away from where they're living in the centre of the villages to the *shumbas* further out into the bush. And I've come in contact with that directly just over this summer when I started collecting maize samples: for some different experiments we were using different chemicals to control the larger grain borer. I chose forty farmers from two villages, and we chose them randomly spaced around the village and I've been returning at two monthly intervals to collect samples. Now, after the fourth month it became difficult to find certain people in their houses, and when I really delved into the fact that they weren't just not there twice out of coincidence, it's the fact that "well he's actually got a new *shamba*, it's a little way out of the village, can't you see this land here is finished, he's lived here for ten years and he's had enough, he wants to go back to his old farm, and that's happened in one village to 20/30% of the farmers that I was visiting.

**WHEELER:** In the past farmers used to market their surplus crops through co-operatives who paid cash on collection. The government changed all that, setting up state marketing organisations, riddled with bureaucracy and soon so short of money that farmers had to wait a year or more for payment. Small wonder production slumped. Consider, if you will, the sad story of the Tabora Bee-Keepers Co-operative, an example of how to shoot your economy in the foot. The bee-keepers — bee robbers I'm told is the more accurate description — journey up to a hundred miles, deep into the forests. They hollow out a bit of tree trunk, put some wax on it to attract the bees, and hang it up. Months later they return to collect the honey, take it to a co-operative and get paid cash. It was a nice little earner until, as Justin Madaha, the co-operative's manager, relates, political ideology took a hand:

**MADAHA:** For years we have been the only co-operative doing business in the country.

**WHEELER:** Why were you the only one?

**MADAHA:** Because all the other co-operatives were dissolved.

**WHEELER:** Why didn't they dissolve you?

**MADAHA:** Our co-operative is so small they wouldn't make a profit, you know, by dissolving it, and such small organisations to handle this honey.

**WHEELER:** So you survived through all this?

**MADAHA:** We survived.

**WHEELER:** Just about.

**MADAHA:** Yes.

**WHEELER:** Did you use to be able to export your honey?

**MADAHA:** We used to export our honey some years back and for quite some time we did the exports, until such time, you know, we were told to channel all our produce for exports through a general agricultural export company.

**WHEELER:** And what was the result of that?

**MADAHA:** Well, there was no sales since then to Europe. I think it's because they acted as middle men and for such reason the cost went up and buyers couldn't offer to pay the price they were asking.

**WHEELER:** As a result of the new middle men coming in you became uncompetitive?

**MADAHA:** We were entirely uncompetitive.

**WHEELER:** Today the state agricultural marketing boards are being wound up and the co-operatives, backed by a co-operative bank, are being restored. So perhaps you will see Tanzanian wild honey in your supermarket. All of which looks like a major retreat from the socialist ideals enunciated by President Nyerere in his Arusha Declaration of 1967. Although every government minister I spoke to denied this was the case. It seemed to me though that if they had a prayer, and many of them are devout men, it was dear Lord, make me socialist, but not yet. In industry and commerce too, Tanzania is moving in a new direction. Some of the nationalised parastatals will disappear, others are being called sharply to account, and will get no more overdrafts unless they can justify their existence. Professor

Kighoma Malima, Minister of Economic Planning, explains what went wrong here:

**MALIMA:** After the Arusha Declaration in 1967 we established quite a number of parastatals. And we didn't have enough managerial skills to go around. Most of the people running the parastatals now have been out of university with their first degrees, not more than fifteen years. And out of those, they've been general managers or leaders for ten of them, so the learning experience, I mean, you don't compare him with his counterpart in UK or USA who becomes general manager at 45 or 40, rarely at 35. But still you would have at least a minimum of ten to fifteen years of experience, so that is genuine problem of managerial resources. And looking back, one can say that to the extent we should have established these parastatals with the realistic sense of the managerial abilities, that's true. And some of them have not run well because of management incompetence. But having said that I think it is also fair that given the background of these managers, some of them children of peasant farmers and so forth, they're first generation university trained people and wonderful things they're doing sometimes, is also a miracle.

**WHEELER:** And it would be a mistake to suppose that all Tanzanian industry is inefficient. One shining example is the privately owned Tanzania Food Corporation in Arusha, one of the more fertile regions. They make biscuits and pasta. The dynamic boss Abdul Faraji sheds no tears for the passing of some of the parastatals:

**FARAJI:** The parastatal that we've been dealing with mainly is General Foods, in short called Gefco, that has been dissolved, so a kind of work of importation or confinement of food-stuffs which they used to do, that now will be open to anybody who requires, as a raw material without going through a specific parastatal. That is a kind of liberalism we see it.

**WHEELER:** Was this parastatal, Gefco, offered to you to take over?

**FARAJI:** It wasn't actually ... I believe it was not necessary ... I wouldn't buy it at any price for that matter.

**WHEELER:** Like all industrialists in Tanzania, Abdul Faraji faces a never ending succession of problems in trying to keep his production lines working. For example:

**FARAJI:** I could not import spares. I could not import parts of the raw material important that I thought was necessary. But also, I think, one should

be fair there to the government policy in the sense that it was a mistake by allowing so many industries which were import oriented in terms of raw materials. To a certain extent, a decision is being taken to try and change that policy, so we hope that a lot of foreign exchange will be available for the needy industries.

**WHEELER:** A lot of the parastatals are apparently running at something like 20% or 25% capacity, do you do better than that?

**FARAJI:** Oh, we certainly do better than that. We are doing something like 50 to 60% capacity. To a certain extent we are lucky because one of the basic raw materials is wheat which is grown around here, but also we took a decision two/three years ago to grow it ourselves, so this is helping us enormously.

**WHEELER:** Putting the emphasis where it belongs, on a more productive agriculture, could mean an even lower standard of living for town dwellers. The price of food has been allowed to rise, and when you consider the minimum wage, which is also the maximum for many people, is only ten pounds a week, you wonder why there haven't been strikes and protests. I put the point to Planning Minister, Malima.

**MALIMA:** We haven't had that problem because whatever measures the government is taking there has been full, honest consultations with all the parties concerned. For instance, when we want to raise the minimum wage, we all sit down and look at the figures, and we may all agree that real income has gone down. The real question then becomes how much we can afford.

**WHEELER:** If a trade union leader doesn't accept the wages policy, doesn't feel that it's right that his members should be on such low wages, what can he do about it? Can he, in fact, call a strike in this country?

**MALIMA:** No, under our system he cannot.

**WHEELER:** So what options are open to him?

**MALIMA:** Well we have something we call Permanent Labour Tribunal, and this group of independent judges using their own experts, and so forth, can make an assessment of the position, and they can pass verdict by saying, "Well, come on government, you can increase 200 shillings there." Or they can say to the other fellow, "I think the government has gone as far as it can," and that is it.

**WHEELER:** There's no appeal from that?

**MALIMA:** No.

**WHEELER:** And do you think that's the fairest way of doing it?

**MALIMA:** Well, in our system it has worked.

**WHEELER:** But I can't see them buying that one at the TUC. What has kept Tanzania's economy afloat — just — has been a massive amount of foreign aid, much of it from Scandinavia, where President Nyerere seems to be their favourite Africa. Much of it has been misused by poor management, or by a failure to maintain a project, a new road for example, once it's been completed. The country will continue to need aid but the welcome mat is now out for foreign investors. No fear of being nationalised, Tanzania needs them. One sure way of becoming attractive is to guarantee foreign companies the repatriation of at least some of their profits. Prime Minister Salim:

**SALIM:** Sometimes it is very difficult to repatriate profit. It is difficult to repatriate profit, not because the policy of the government does not allow for that, but simply because the state of the economy is such that the foreign exchange which is not so necessary is not there. But, if the economy improves and the situation improves then there is absolutely no reason why foreign investors should not have their profits repatriated. And, we recognise also that when you ask somebody to come and invest in our country, he's not going to do so as a Good Samaritan, you know, simply for altruistic reasons. He has legitimate interests and we have legitimate interests. It's a question of the convergence of the legitimate interests of Tanzania and the legitimate interests of the foreign investor. And we believe very firmly that there's tremendous potential in our country for foreign investors to invest in different areas in the field of agriculture; in the field of livestock; in the field of tourism — in other fields. And they are most welcome. (Continues next Sunday).

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**WHEELER:** — When he mentions tourism as one possibility for foreign development, the Prime Minister is undoubtedly aware that Tanzania has missed out badly to its neighbour Kenya. Kenya has the lion's share of this trade, although it's Tanzania that has the lions, and just about everything else. Tourists are conspicuous by their absence here. Although, I did see one party of Germans in a vehicle rather larger than a double-decker bus, in which they lived,

ate, slept, and peered out through potholes at passing fauna. Rommel would have been proud of them. Less dedicated travellers would, I think, find Tanzania with its dreadful communications, whether by road, rail or air, just too daunting. Tanzania is, of course, a union of the former colony of Tanganyika and the spice island of Zanzibar, 20 miles off the coast. And, in Zanzibar Mr. Fikirini, Managing Director of the Tourist Corporation is convinced he has everything going for him:

**FIKIRINI:** — Zanzibar has a lot to offer. First of all, Zanzibar is very famous for its history starting from 5th AD going on up to now, we can say you see, involving a lot of people like Livingstone, Speck and others. And the second thing which we are going to offer is the scenery. We have very beautiful scenery, we have vegetation, we have a lot of other things, spices and other things. And, the third thing are the beaches. Zanzibar is just an island, it's surrounded by the sea and it has got very very nice beaches along the coast. And, the fourth thing is the utilisation of our resources which is sea, which is also surrounding us, and the type of fish we have along all the sea around these islands.

**WHEELER:** — I wish them luck because they have an awfully long way to go. Actually, the Nyerere regime does seem to have had ideological reservations about encouraging tourism. Planning Minister Malima still has doubts: **MALIMA:** It is quite possible for each dollar you earn in foreign exchange, 95 cents go outside to bring the towels, the soap, the liquor, the cigarettes and even the toothpicks. Secondly, if you're not careful you will reduce your own people to a nation of waiters. So that the beverage manager, the man who lines the boiler, and so forth, are all coming as technical assistants or experts. So are we getting more than we are putting in, in terms of foreign exchange, and are our people absorbing some technology in running these things? Or, are they just being reduced to waiters and bartenders?

**WHEELER:** — None of which is going to stop Zanzibar from getting into the package holiday trade if it can. But, then Zanzibar has shown a

disconcerting tendency to want to go its own way in a number of fields. This union of Tanganyika and Zanzibar is a curious set up. An equal partnership, you are told, between the 19 and 20 millions on the Mainland, and the half million Zanzibaris living in cheerful indolence under the jacksuit and mango trees and getting what they can for their main export crop, cloves.

When you arrive on the island from Dar es Salaam, you find you have to go through customs, health and immigration formalities. Zanzibar has its own government with responsibility for domestic affairs. For the more sophisticated elements in Zanzibar with centuries of wheeling and dealing behind them, this is not enough. Some would like a complete break, believing that Zanzibaris contribute far more to the union than they get in return. But Zanzibar's Chief Minister, Seif Sharif Hamadi, will have none of it.

HAMADI:— There are people in the Mainland who feel that Zanzibar should contribute more than it does now. But when you come into facts... when you come into data, you find here there are no problems. So the Party has to educate the people on this, because we have to accept that there are disgruntled elements who feel that their strength would be more if there is no union.

So these would be rumour-mongers. In fact, sometimes Zanzibar is gaining advantage. For example, I'll tell you. We have our own foreign exchange, we can do our own foreign exchange. But there are goods which are bought by the Union Government, for example, fuel. We in Zanzibar, we don't contribute this foreign exchange, we use local money.

WHEELER:— In fact many people would say that Zanzibar is somewhat over represented in the Union Government?

HAMADI:— That was deliberate. When we came into union we had two equal sovereign states. It doesn't matter whether one was very large with a big population and the other one small, its voice has to be heard in the union. And one way to make sure that its voice is heard is to have a lot of

representation in different parts: in the legislature, in the government. That is the reason why some people say it is over represented.

WHEELER:— Apart from spasmodic bouts of unrest in Zanzibar, and the odd attempted coup, Tanzania has enjoyed a

generation of internal peace, which is more than you can say for most Third World countries. No racial problems, no tribal conflicts, no hatred between Christians and Moslems. But given the serious decline in living standards, it does seem extraordinary that there hasn't been real trouble. The Planning Minister, Professor Malima:

MALIMA:— I think the Tanzanians have accepted the explanation for that. What causes problems sometimes is when people preach what they don't practice. You tell the people the situation is hard and they see you driving the most luxurious car: Mercedes or what have you. And you tell people that we don't have foreign exchange to buy medicine. These are the kind of problems sometimes that lead to unrest rather than difficulties themselves. If people see that in their leaders there's a sense of seriousness, there's a sense of commitment, there's effort being made to practice what they're preaching, they're prepared to tighten up their belts too.

I'm saying that Tanzania is fortunate to have a leadership which is quite modest, because it's very easy for people in public offices to aggrandise wealth, and hence lead to all kinds of social and political tensions. I have been studying abroad with some comrades of mine who were equally pauperised and some of them now are millionaires, in a matter of one decade. And it can't be that they work harder than I do, or they're more thrifty than I am because I used to lend them money. So, this I think is the crux of the matter.

WHEELER:— And you certainly can't accuse Nyerere's ministers of wasting money on grandiose public buildings. Their offices in Dar es Salaam, and in the new capital Dodoma in the dusty midlands, are shabby by say the least. But if senior

ministers are honest, officials at the lower level are frequently not. Corruption, virtually unknown in Tanzania ten years ago, is now rife. If you want something done a back-hander makes all the difference. Professor Malima puts it down to the astronomical prices of consumer goods.

MALIMA:— If we are on an inextricable course, where today a pair of shoes is 4,000 next year it will be 10,000 shillings, and salaries don't go up in the same manner and people have been told these are essential things for civilisation, I think it does become inevitable. If one has to spend one year's salary to get a pair of shoes and he needs one a year, you are almost telling him I don't care how you get the money, but buy it.

WHEELER:— Rising expectations are indeed Tanzania's great problem for the future. They result, as Prime Minister Salim is entitled to point out, from one of the country's success stories.

SALIM:— Tanzania has invested quite heavily in the education of our people in providing facilities for people, in providing better health for our people. And, the result is there's no doubt that even our critics admit that this is one area we have succeeded tremendously; the field of illiteracy, for example, removing illiteracy in the country: in providing primary education; providing secondary education; in providing better health facilities. Still we have a lot of problems, we have a long way to go. But taken in the context of Third World perspectives, we have made tremendous strides in this. But again, that also leads to a lot of expectations.

So we have thousands of students coming out from primary school actually, tens of thousands. And they are an army without work. And so how to make use of them, how to utilise their talent, how to utilise their ability, and how, in the process, not to create frustration and not to create a gap between them and the rest of the community?

WHEELER:— And how many educated Tanzanians are going to want to work in agriculture where they are needed, rather than administration or industry where they are not? The Chairman of the National Bank

of Commerce. Amon Nsekela. sees this as the country's great dilemma:

NSEKELA:— It isn't going to be easy. I mean we have acquired this habit of gravitating to the towns over a long period, and I do think to change it is going to take an equally long, if not longer period. So, I think we've got to do something about it. We can only make the agricultural career attractive by paying more for the commodities and the produce of the agriculturalists, and I think that's what we're trying to do now. The recent budget did in fact move in that direction. Some crops, in fact, went up by as much as 50% on the original price.

WHEELER:— But, putting up prices for produce obviously pleases the farmers but it can cause unrest in the towns and cities can't it?

NSEKELA:— This is true, this is true, but it is also true that the farmer, for a long time, has been

subsidising the townsmen. And I do think neither subsidising the townsmen nor subsidising the countryman is good enough, so we will have to strike the balance somewhere.

WHEELER:— Agricultural production must go up, if only to keep pace with the rising population. There are now twice as many Tanzanians as there were at the time of independence. But it's a big country. And Prime Minister Salim doesn't seem particularly worried yet.

SALIM:— For the moment the issue of population is not as serious as a problem for us as it is for many other countries. And so to talk in terms of population control in Tanzania as a priority issue will be a misnomer. Having said that, however, I will still say that, like all countries who want to develop it is extremely important that the demographic growth must be in accordance with economic growth of the country, otherwise you're going to have a lot of problems. So increasingly the younger generation begins to understand that really you do not need to have 5/6/7/10 children. And, I gave once an example... my own example to the Ambassador of UNESCO from Japan, the lady, you know, a very charming lady, who came to see me in my office in Dar es Salaam, and she asked

me how many of you, and I said I have 18 brothers and sisters. And, of course, naturally, coming from Japan she was terribly shocked. And then said: How many children do you have? I said I have two.

Because the circumstances were different, the circumstances of my father are different from my circumstances, and I'm quite sure my own children will have different priorities as far as population perspective is concerned. But still there are lot

of Tanzanians with very large families. But, I think this is a problem which will take care of itself. But it is a problem and we've got to take it into account that we cannot simply ignore it as years go by.

WHEELER:— For a country in such dire straits, there's a lot of optimism about. A feeling perhaps that there's now nowhere to go but up. Aburhamani Fundikira comes from a family of tribal chiefs. He's now working with the British aid project to reallocate land. Does he, a man of much experience, think this new drive in agriculture is going to work out?

FUNDIKIRA:— It's very difficult to say, because you have to deal with people and it's not easy just to force them. But, I think the production will increase; I think more people will be interested in going back

to the country to farm. I think there is better hope for the future, with the introduction of co-operatives. People have more say in deciding what they want to do.

WHEELER:— You've been here all your life, do you think that the ordinary peasant is now any better off than he was say, 30 years ago?

FUNDIKIRA:— Well I think, because production has fallen, so I don't think they've gained much.

WHEELER:— You don't think they've gained much?

FUNDIKIRA:— No.

WHEELER:— A more detached but equally hopeful view comes from Campbell McCullough, a New Zealander who represents the UN's Food and Agriculture Organisation in Tanzania.

McCULLOUGH:— You must recognise the tremendous potential which Tanzania has in

terms of agriculture. You look at the irrigation potential for one. One of the few countries — very few countries — where you've got four or five lakes, where you've got numerous rivers. And the potential, as I said, is enormous. I believe, again looking at agriculture, that provided the farmers get realistic prices for what they produce, and the marketing system is operating efficiently, and most importantly, I think there's provision of basic consumer goods which hitherto have been very short, then I think you will see a complete turn around in agricultural production.

WHEELER:— Lots of potential, yes. But when you're at ground level, working alongside peasants and local officials as Caroline Boag does for VSO, the practical difficulties can be depressing:

BOAG:— Yes, it does depress me. I think what depresses me

most of all is being with people from the generation who were at universities, say, in the 60s who have had a very good education and are now holding local government positions, and seeing how they have accepted a great lowering of living standards. And, I think, for them to come across a European working alongside them makes them see their position very clearly and they're often very embarrassed and apologetic about it. An awful lot of farmers, as well, are extremely negative about the future. They can't see how they can ever get themselves out of the vicious circle that they're in at the moment. On the other hand, a lot of Tanzanians are extremely resourceful and very hopeful and, in the end, I hope that they'll be able to pick things up.

WHEELER:— But they seem a rather, sort of, passive people, in a way. I mean, in other parts of the world where these conditions were happening, there'd be riots in the streets, and people would be talking of overthrowing the government. Nobody talks like that here, as far as I can see.

BOAG:— I think they have a misconception that central government is stronger than in fact it really is, and I think the system perpetuates that — the belief that CCM is a big force to be reckoned with — and things are perhaps more stable at the top than they might really be.

**WHEELER:**— The CCM is Tanzania's one and only political Party. It's far from being monolithic, covering every shade of political opinion, from Marxism to Thatcherism — well almost. Every village in Tanzania has its Party workers, but this is neither as sinister nor repressive as it would be in more developed societies. Tanzanians are accustomed to speaking their minds, and issues are hotly debated. And no one gets chopped down for speaking up. Those who favour cutting back the activities of the state, now seem to have the upper hand. A state of affairs which gives encouragement to Tom Wolfe, an American who runs the country's most successful industrial plant, General Tyre:

**WOLFE:**— There's definitely a great change since the budget of June 1984. There's certainly more realism around, there's more consumer items available for the Tanzanian consumer. There's a bit of confusion of what the future's going to be but there is definitely more available, and a much freer economic atmosphere.

**WHEELER:**— From your experience of Africa, do you think this is something that's going to last?

**WOLFE:**— There are two trends within the government. One opting very much for a freer economy, the other one preferring to stay strictly to the socialist line. I just hope the freer economy wins.

**WHEELER:**— But the debate is by no means over. When President Nyerere steps down in October, Tanzania will present a new face to the world. But Nyerere has said that he'll continue as Chairman of the Party for another two years. So it remains to be seen just how free his successor will be to make any changes. Dr. Haroub Othman is Director of Development Studies at Dar es Salaam University:

**OTHMAN:**— There are forces here within the Government, within the Party even, that are interested in reversing, to a certain extent, the policy position, and so on. And there are forces that are interested in continuing with this policy. So this is a continuous struggle. But,

definitely, I can't see in the foreseeable future any fundamental change of policy. There has been a speculation in the Western press especially that all this talk of socialism and so on and so forth, is just Nyerere business, you know, and therefore once he goes, there'll be a turn around. I mean, I don't think we'll have any Sadat — way here. You know, Nasser died. Then he started turning everything upside down. That, I don't think, will happen because the social forces interested in the preservation of the status quo, at least, in the pursuing of the policies of Nyerere, are quite strong, and the Tanzanian population, unlike most of the other people in Africa, is highly politicised.

**WHEELER:**— But not all Tanzanians are socialists presumably?

**OTHMAN:**— They're not all socialists, but they are all patriotic.

**WHEELER:**— But then patriotism can take many forms. In some quarters the end of the Nyerere regime will be greeted with relief. His vision of an African socialism, with its roots in pre colonial times, has failed to produce the goods. But even so, as Prime Minister Salim suggests, his will be a hard act to follow.

**SALIM:**— You have one father figure, you have one founding figure, one dynamic figure who comes out in history as a stalwart, as the embodiment of that nation, and then you have other leaders who come after him, and they will be expected to play their role. But, for example, in the United States, you cannot have another George Washington. They have had a lot of other leaders, but, certainly, I don't think the Americans can claim that they had another George Washington. So, you have only one George Washington, and so in Tanzania, we had and we only have one Mwalimu Nyerere.

**WHEELER:**— So it's going to be a difficult role for whoever gets the job, to fill?

**SALIM:**— Oh certainly. It's going to be a very challenging time.

**WHEELER:**— I don't know much about Tanzanian politics from the inside, but I'm told you're one of the favourites for the job, is that right?

**SALIM:**— That is part of what I would call idle speculation.

**WHEELER:**— Unduly modest I thought. When I asked one of the Prime Minister's colleagues what he thought was Tanzania's main achievement, he replied: "that we are still here". One would like to see this warm, friendly, if not particularly hard working people, achieve rather more than that. With better luck from the weather and an adequate response from the peasants, the country can feed itself. And, in time, start to export. But watching hundreds of bright, eager children emerging from primary schools, in the uniforms which take such a big bite out of the family budget, you're bound to ask yourself how many of them are going to be happy tilling the soil. And there really isn't much else. To paraphrase the old song:

"How you going to keep 'em down on the farm. Once they have seen Dar es Salaam".

4 June 1985

## UGANDA

## BRIEFS

MEDICAL AGREEMENT WITH PRC--The minister of health, Dr Ezra Nkwasiwe and the Chinese ambassador to Uganda have signed an agreement in accordance with which China will send more medical personnel to work in Uganda. [Summary] [Kampala Domestic Service in English 1000 GMT 17 Apr 85]

NEW WEEKLY PAPER--Among the highlights of Labor Day celebrations yesterday was the appearance of the NATIONAL MIRROR newspaper. This is a weekly publication currently selling in Kampala and some up country towns. Observers think that it is a paper which is fairly distinctive, depicting broad perspective of events in the country and Africa. Copies of the paper are being sold at 250 Uganda Shillings. [Text] [Kampala Domestic Service in English 1700 GMT 2 May 85]

BRITISH MILITARY ADVISORY TEAM--[as heard throughtout] Letters extending the memorandum of understanding regarding the work of the British military advisory team in Uganda have been exchanged between the Minister of State for Defence Mr Peter Otai and British minister of state for Her Majesty's Armed Forces, Mr John Paul Stanley. The ceremony took place in Jinja. Mr Otai expressed gratitude to Her Majesty's government for accepting Uganda's request to renew the memorandum of understanding. He reported that the British military advisory training team has brought a remarkable change in the Uganda Army. The minister of state for Her Majesty's Armed Forces: Mr Stanley said he was very happy to learn of the contribution and the success of the British military advisory team in Uganda, so this is why Her Majesty's government had considered the Uganda Government's request to extend the memorandum of understanding for a third year to enable the team to continue its work. [Excerpt] [Kampala Domestic Service in English 1400 GMT 13 Apr 85]

CSO: 3400/216



ZAIRE

#### BRIEFS

GUARD CLAIMS KILLING OF OPPONENTS--Bonn, 11 Apr (AFP)--A former member of Zairian President Mobutu's personal guard, a 34-year-old Zairian who has been living as a refugee in the FRG for 1 month, has confessed that he has assassinated "a good many" political opponents in his country, the Bochum (FRG) public prosecutor's office announced today. According to the prosecutor's office, the man, whose identity was not disclosed, said that he had been a member of the "Special Presidential Brigade," President Mobutu's personal guard, from 1980 to 1983, and had taken part in the assassination of some 500 opponents to the regime. A spokesman for the prosecutor's office stated that the man confessed to having killed "a good many" persons himself. A spokesman for Amnesty International in Bonn has stated that according to information reaching the London International Secretariat, the Special Presidential Brigade is directly in charge of a military camp at Mont Ngaliema in Kinshasa where tortures and executions are carried out. "This may be the crook who for some time has been posing as a member of the presidential brigade," according to Mabolia Inengo Tra Bwato, Zaire's ambassador to Bonn. The man, who requested political asylum, has been put in detention awaiting trial. According to West German law, a man who has committed crimes in another country can be tried in the FRG if he cannot be extradited. [Text] [Paris AFP in French 1803 GMT 11 Apr 85 AB]

ARMY MANEUVERS--"Keba 85" or in French "Attention 85." The red flag is no longer flying over Kahemba. The imaginary enemy who invaded the Kahemba Zone was crushed during the important military maneuvers which took place in this rural zone from 26 March to 1 April 1985. Our correspondent reports from Kehemba, which is located in the Kwango subregion, in the Bamdundu region: These military maneuvers were conducted by Major General Eluki Monga Aunda, general chief of staff of the Zairian Armed Forces. They were aimed at testing the preparedness of the units to intervene more than 700 kms from their headquarters. I would like to remind you that Kinshasa is located more than 1,300 kms from Kahemba. It was also an opportunity for our troops to test the cooperation between units in control of a given zone. The units that took part in the great military exercised code-named Keba 85 were: troops of the land forces, in particular the 61st Brigade of paratroopers, the armored personnel, the Air Force, and the National Gendarmerie. [Excerpt] [Kinshasa Domestic Service in French 1130 GMT 2 Apr 85]

FINANCIAL AGREEMENTS WITH FRANCE--Eight financial agreement were signed today between Zaire and France. The Executive Council and the French Government were represented by Citizen Lengema Dulia, the secretary of state for international cooperation, and Jean Kientz, the French ambassador to Zaire, respectively. The agreements, which were signed at the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and International Cooperation, totalled 25 million CFA francs. [Text] [Kinshasa Domestic Service in French 1800 GMT 3 Apr 85]

LUFTHANSA FLIGHTS RESUME--Kinshasa, 4 Apr (AZAP/PANA)--The German airline company "Lufthansa" will soon resume its flights to Kinshasa with two flight a week. Mr. Schmidt, the company's director general, currently on a visit to Zaire, announced this at a meeting with Muyulu Mumbonga, Zairian minister of transport and communications. Mr Schmidt and Air Zaire officials are currently working out the practical modalities for the resumption of "Lufthansa's" services to Zaire. [Excerpt] [Dakar PANA in French 1012 GMT 4 Apr 85]

CSO: 3400/216

ZAMBIA

#### BRIEFS

ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT AID URGED--His excellency the president, Dr Kaunda, has called on the trade union movement to be responsible and contribute to the economic development of the country. Dr Kaunda was opening a 3-day workshop on workers' participation in Chipata, at the teacher training college. He said when the party and its government calls on trade unions to play a constructive role in national development, it means well and it is not one way of trying to campaign for their (?extinction). He said trade unions have responsibilities toward the consuming public and the economy as a whole, and urged them to continue to make humanism the cornerstone of the country's industrial and labor practises. The president told the workshop, being chaired by the minister of state for industrial participatory democracy, Mr Unia Mwila, that (?the concept of) humanism should aim at the achievement of high productivity. Dr Kaunda said it is therefore the responsibility of both management and labor to raise the welfare of the people and enable the growth and development of the country. He said those who treat humanism as a (?massive) show of force should reexamine their theories against the background of the type of society being tried to be built in the country. [Text] [Lusaka Domestic Service in English 0500 GMT 16 May 85]

KAUNDA ORDERS DETENTIONS--President Kaunda has detained 15 people under the preservation of public security regulation. According to the government gazette published today, the detainees who, are being held at Lusaka central prison, include a former central committee member, Sikota Wina; his wife, the Princess Nakatindi (Wheelam Roman Bachman); Emanuel Mike Thembo; Oscar Kwalela Lubasi; (Webster Muwonso); George Musanje; (Goolah Adabzulah); McDonald Ngwira; (Patric Mwenso); (Lazarus Mulengamore); (James Mitty); (Farook Adam Essa); and Ibrahim Yusuf. At least 17 people have been detained so far. They include Chris Mwanalushi and Richard Nganga, who is Mrs Wina's brother. [Text] [Lusaka Domestic Service in English 1800 GMT 10 May 85]

CSO: 3400/187

ZIMBABWE

BRIEFS

MEMBERS OF ZANU PARTY ASSASSINATED--Harare, 15 May (AFP)--Antigovernment dissidents in Zimbabwe on Monday night assassinated four members of Premier Robert Mugabe's ruling ZANU party in the province of Matabeleland (south-west), which is troubled by guerrilla activities, a ZANU spokesman announced on Tuesday. Three brothers and a pastor, all members of the ZANU party, were killed in the Mbembezi region, to the north of Bulawayo, according to the ZANU secretary for security for north Matabeleland, Embassy Moyo, who felt that it was a "plot" aimed at intimidating voters and driving them away from the ZANU. According to Mr Moyo, the three brothers, Richard, Russel, and George Zondi, were abducted from their village on Monday around 2300 by three "rebels" armed with AK-47 guns. They were accused by their abductors of being "traitors" because of their support for the ZANU. They were then tied together and led on foot 5 km away to the village of Pastor Aaron Madabu, where they, along with the pastor, were killed. The ZANU spokesman felt that these assassinations were aimed at dissuading voters from voting for the ruling party during the upcoming elections which should take place in June or July. Mr Moyo called on the population to reject Joshua Nkomo's opposition ZAPU party, which is well established in Matabeleland, because, according to him and repeating the government accusations, it is the ZAPU that is instigating the antigovernment guerrilla activities in the region. [Text] [Paris AFP in French 0908 GMT 15 May 85 AB]

FOUR ZANU-PF SUPPORTERS KILLED--Four ZANU-PF supporters, three of them brothers, were murdered by dissidents in the (Mahalane)-(Ndimbembe) area last night. The ZANU-PF secretary for security in Matabeleland North Province, Comrade (Embassy Moyo), told ZIANA that Comrades (Richard Zondi), (Rafael Zondi), (George Zondi), and the Reverend (Eron Madagu) were murdered around midnight. He said (?12) dissidents armed with AK rifles raided the (Zondi's) village and took the (Zondi) brothers at gunpoint and accused them of being sellouts because they support ZANU-PF. The three were taken to Reverend (Madagu's) village, 5 km away. The reverend was shot and killed as he tried to run away. The three brothers were shot and killed in Reverend (Madagu's) house. [Text] [Harare Domestic Service in English 1745 GMT 14 May 85 MB]

ZIMBABWE-PALESTINE SOLIDARITY NEWSPAPER--The Zimbabwe-Palestine Solidarity Committee today issued its first edition of a monthly newspaper, FREE PALESTINE. The objectives of the newspaper will be to keep the people of Zimbabwe abreast with developments in the Middle East in general and the struggle of the Palestinian people in particular. The newspaper is part of the Zimbabwe-Palestine

Solidarity Committee's aims to educate and mobilize Zimbabweans to meet their international obligations and understand the dynamics of the anti-imperialist global struggle. [Text] [Harare Domestic Service in English 1600 GMT 15 May 85 MB]

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